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582 The general rule which governs the unions of T'ou-jen young people is very simple. It requires only that the husband and wife not bear the same name, therefore that they belong to different M families. There are no exceptions to this rule. Moreover, it is the ● [171] same rule which exists among the Chinese and the Turco-Mongolian peoples.

M 551 Now the T'ou-jen claim that formerly all the people of the same t'ou-se were called by the name of the t'ou-se; a chief and his people thus constituted a clan. This is possible and even probable, for among the Mongols, who are racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, members of the same clan have the same name. (1) Today,

M 551 171 HM 551 614

> 1. The Life of Ghingis Khan, by Prof. Vladimirtsov, p. 5: The habit of minor tribes of adopting the appellation of some powerful and related neighbour even though they might be in hostile relations with the latter, is reported by the ethnologists of various parts of the world, e.g. from the Caucasus, the Altai, and contemporary Mongolia.
>
> As the Tartar tribe was numerous, and had by the twelfth century acquired considerable importance, members of the other Mongol clans often adopted the famous name of Tartar, so that their own tribal name ceased to be known except to their nearest neighbours. /Cited in English./
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> P. 64: Temuchin after having brought all the tribes of Mongolia into subjection is proclaimed Ghingis Khan in 1206 at the sources of the Onon. "The Borjigin clan had once more revived the greatness and the glory of the Mongol name, and all the peoples of their race would henceforward be designated as Mongols. All the

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M 551 171 HM 551 614

> Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./
>
> A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

M 764 M 582 605 171

Mo /13 cont'd/
582 unions between the children of brothers and sisters. Moreover, it is
605 the same practice which exists among the Mongols.
171 A similar custom is found among the Chinese; however, the principle "another name, another family" is not pushed to the extreme. Actually, in China one sees marriages between the sons of a sister and the daughters of her brothers, but not the other way around, between the sons of brothers and the daughters of their sisters.

Another kind of alliance much sought after among the T'ou-jen is that contracted between the sons and daughters of two sisters. Two sisters married into two different families bear different names: consequently, their children are free to intermarry. /14/ The same practice is found among the Chinese.

Mo Let us point out still another kind of alliance very frequent
582 nowadays among this people; it consists in the exchange of daughters.
171 Family A gives its daughter in marriage to the son of family B, and family B at the same time offers its daughter in marriage to the son of family A. This custom is also very frequent among the Chinese and the Manchu. (1)

Ma 1. Some notes collected in Mr. Shirokogoroff's
144 excellent study, Social Organisation of the
551 Manchus, Shanghai, 1924, will broaden our horizon. Since the T'ou-jen whom we are discussing are Mongols and Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it is instructive to compare their customs with those of the Manchu, who, says Mr. Shirokogoroff, p. 168, "do not understand their name as an original ethnical name, but merely as a name of the power that includes different political and ethnical groups (the Mongols and others) into a new political
Ma unit." P. 167: "a) Klaproth asserted that the
197 Manchu language is an amalgamation of the Tungus and the Mongol languages influenced
Ma above all by Turkic. b) He has shown the
144 intercourse and assimilation of different groups,

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Korean, Tungus, Mongols, and so on. c) I have expounded ... that the Manchus are an amalgamation from the physical standpoint, and that in general the so-called "Mongol race" is merely hypothesis insufficiently based on the superficial impression of the travellers." P. 11: "The Manchus recognize the following three groups, viz., 1) the ancient Manchus, 2) the modern (new) Manchus, 3) the Mongol-Manchus." /Cited in English./ These notes on the subject of the Manchu enter therefore within the framework of our subject. In spite of the enormous distance which separates Kansu from Manchuria, and the total absence of relations between the Manchu and the T'ou-jen, we find that many practices are absolutely identical among the two peoples; others, in the course of centuries, have undergone changes, which were different in the two camps, due to the presence of neighboring peoples with customs different from theirs; in more than one case, it is enough to look at corresponding customs in order to understand their alteration or, evolution.

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"Up to the present time the practice of exchange of women is one of the preferred ways to get a wife (among the Manchus). Among some other Tungus groups this is the only practical way of marrying." Shirokogoroff, p. 69. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French, indicated by parentheses./

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/15/ When the sister's daughter marries one of the sons of her maternal uncles, this union is called tao-t'sin, which means "returning the marriage" in this sense (1) "that formerly you /16/ gave us

/24 cont'd/

583 herself, the marriage is therefore set. No longer is it kept from any-
584 one; on the contrary, they are careful to make the news known. But if, for example, before this formal visit of the future mother-in-law, the fiancée's family has changed its mind, the gifts would be left intact on the table, they would talk amiably about the weather, the girl would not appear, no allusion to the projected marriage would be made, the gifts would be politely returned at the time of departure, and the alliance would be given up. Only after these formalities have been completed, will the family of the future bridegroom secure a go-between.

171 /25/ This second formal visit by the mother then is definitely
584 binding. This custom is abnormal in a patriarchal economy. (1)

1. The bride's father, according to the customs refuses the proposals, but they do not take as serious this answer, and some time later they send to the bride's father the match-makers who propose for his daughter some price (kalin). If the two families are already connected by the matrimonial relations, the "kalin" is only a formality....

Usually the bride's father consults his wife; if he decides the question without consulting her, she can protest, but her protest is not taken in consideration. Then her husband's youngest brother intervenes, and advises the bride's mother to accept her husband's decision. After this formality is completed, she must agree to the inevitable thing. But if they address the demand to the bride's mother, her words have the same value as that of the bride's father and never can be changed. If they address the

171 /25 cont'd/

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> demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth [431] day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

583 584 After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin [777 corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and 431] a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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> 1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

Mo 583 584 171 /26 cont'd/

a dinner with moderate libations, which made the bride's father more yielding on the question of the dimensions of the "kalin" (earnest). The final conditions are elaborated usually in the state of profound drunkenness. The "kalin" must be definitely fixed during these negotiations. It consists usually of pigs, from two to eight, always in pairs, which must be given after the match-making, some years later and just before the wedding. The pigs can also be commuted by money. Moreover they give yearly $10 (or Russian roubles) for the bride's clothing and also yearly, namely in the last month of the year, they give $1 - 5 for artificial flowers and paints....In general all calculations concerning the "kalin" payments are made in pigs. The Manchus never calculate it in horse or cattle units.

Mo 583 171 The Mongols use as unit the horse, the reindeer. Tungus, the reindeer. It is interesting to note that the Dahurs who live in very close neighborhood with the Manchus, Mongols and Tungus, for this purpose use as unit clothing. -- (as do the T'ou-jen and the Miao of Yunnan, Kweichow.) /Cited in English, with two interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

HM 584 Timkovski, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 307: Among the Mongols the marriage proposal is made through outsiders. The consent having been given, the father

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585 262 264 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's fingers at first, then rubs /45/ them on one's boots to soften the leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and [527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang ṡi by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 261 [252] It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 264 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. 585 262 Once and for all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organization of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large 585 431 231 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably [262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

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539 831 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes her big hatpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches....O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-[illegible]. (1)

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1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Etudes asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"... third-century Chinese poem by d'Aurouseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by G. Cordier.

585 533 539 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

/66 cont'd/

585 A member of the family says aloud, "The sheep will be divided into five parts. The first will be for the maternal uncle, the second for the father, the third and fourth for each of the two singers, and the fifth for the master of ceremonies. Then the guests tackle the legs of mutton, the sausages, etc. After this appetizer the guests of the bride's family are invited to enter the courtyard. The placement of the tables for the feast inside the courtyard is the same as at the bride's home on the day of the dinner.

[604-262] The bride's maternal uncle and the go-between are invited to be seated in the place of honor. Tea is poured, and loaves of bread cooked in steam are served hot. As soon as the tea is drunk, the two singers from before appear, holding in their hands a teapot whose spout is coated with butter. They pour the buttered tea for all those present, who understand by this rite that they are asked to give up their places to the guests of the bridegroom's family, who will be served tea and bread like them. The bridegroom's family has treated its own guests in the same way as the bride's family treated its guests: introduction into a side room, presentation of gifts, notation in the register....(1)

[171] 1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 82, 83, 84: Every guest is obliged to give some present which cannot be less than $1 in value, or in money. They have a special book in which they inscribe all guests' names and presents. The guests whose presents are of value are inscribed in a red paper, which is fixed near the front door. Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard. The women who arrived with them conduct the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen. /Cited in English./

/73 cont'd/

16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

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784 Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

607 Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person.

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562 Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

585 The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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171 The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

585 /74 cont'd/

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> of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

585 262 264 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always begin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/ pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

585 431 18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family

They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food. [262]

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

/84 cont'd/

593 make her life more bearable, make difficulties with the family of
574 the parents-in-law, and instead of doing good to their daughter they make her situation more and more difficult.

422 Besides these abnormal visits, it is necessary to point out a
58 custom completely singular in a patriarchal organization, with the system of the "large family," in which the daughter-in-law and all that belongs to her is the property of her husband and his family. This custom is that the young married woman keeps her jewels, her ornaments, her best clothes, and all that is dear to her not at the home of her husband but at her own mother's. There she has two or three trunks which her parents take care of but whose keys she keeps. On festive occasions the married woman herself goes to her parents' home to get her best clothes, or she sends someone to get them. Yet at her husband's home /85/ she also has one or two trunks in which she keeps her less important things and those of her children. This general custom offends neither the husband nor his family; all the same it may be the occasion of many disagreeable consequences. Indeed, it is thanks to this "strongbox" that dishonest women find a place to conceal things unfairly acquired in the family of the parents-in-law; again it is there that the presents offered by a too assiduous lover repose, etc. The T'ou-jen all recognize that this custom is not ideal, but they are powerless to make it disappear. (1)

[illegible]7/

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides, in the course of the marriage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan.

Among the northern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is always considered as belonging to her mother's clan.

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> In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

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The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

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1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

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[MIAO]

Mi 585 [262] /86 cont'd/

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride...which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slits of the partition.

Mi [583]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Mo [585 171]

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

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Ma 583 848 if the girl before the wedding becomes pregnant. In such a case she can be taken by capture and neither feast nor wedding are celebrated. The capture is usually effected by the bridegroom himself helped by 5 - 6 young men of his clan. The act of capture is always followed by insults and violations towards the bride. If she cries and prays to defend her, her relatives do not venture to intervene.

This is a sole case when the Manchus use "marriage by capture." Any other customs connected directly or indirectly, or survivals of them cannot be mentioned among the Manchus. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French in parentheses./

Mo 583 I think, however, I have to explain by abduction the rite according to which they cover, only for an instant, the bride's head with a piece of red silk taken away as quickly as possible by the bridegroom. Likewise I see a vestige of abduction in the fact that the bridegroom and his band find the door of the bride's house shut when they go to get her. Without invoking abduction it is impossible to explain the custom which requires that they carry the bride away with haste and throw her into the wagon, that in addition they only half harness the animals to leave as quickly as possible, and stop outside to arrange the harnesses, etc.

582 583 771 Schotter, "Notes sur les tribus du Koei-Tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year,

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> p. 320: There are (among the Hé-miao) abductions with tacit consent. It is then to avoid all expense. P. 342: One likewise finds vestiges of abduction among the Song-kia-tse.
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> Dr. Herbert König, op. cit. /"Das Recht der Polarvoelker (The Law of the Polar Peoples)," Anthropos, 1928-29/, pp. 119-120, 121. Marriage by Capture and Elopement. As in the Old Australian Culture according to Graebner, marriage by capture should, according to him (Schmidt, Koppers), be a normal legal institution among the pastoral peoples and also the polar peoples among them, whom he includes in the northern group. Now it is true that the procurement of women by force for marriage is found among almost all polar peoples, and it is not at all uncommon. Once upon a time, however, (marriage by capture) supposedly was a legal custom, at least in former times. /Cited in English./

583 some which taken separately admit of another explanation. But is it not rational to explain them in this sense when, on the one hand, abduction is still practiced today for widows, and when, on the [587] other hand, some /details/ are found among them which are certainly not explainable without admitting abduction? Thus one can be tempted to explain the following of the bride by the girls of the village as being one step in conducting their friend. But then why do they take the horse's bridle and try to prevent his departure, and why is this ceremony called "pursuit of the lady?" One can find fault again with the fact that the bride's own brothers /99/ carry her out of the room, and with this other that a member of the family

/101 cont'd/

Ma 595 842 sterility. In such case both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife." /Cited in English./

Mo 595 842 exception.

Therefore in well-off families polygamy will often be seen where there are only one or two daughters; and at the same time one will not always meet two wives in rich families where there are very few children. How can one explain these facts?

Mo 593 171 It is that polygamy among the T'ou-jen remains in practice a very delicate and complex problem. In the family circle the T'ou-jen wife occupies a position much more important than the one which the Chinese wife occupies; in addition T'ou-jen family /102/ life is more intimate than Chinese family life. It proceeds from there that the T'ou-jen wife has more influence on the husband than her Chinese sister has. As schools are rare and intellectual formation among the men is almost nil, the wife will not be inferior to men in that direction. Let us suppose now that she has been able to make herself more or less appreciated by her husband, or let us suppose that having one or two children she is categorically opposed to the introduction of a second wife into the home; or let us suppose that she has won over to her side her /his?/ own parents and that they show themselves displeased with the project; or let us suppose that the wife suggests the word suicide... and then how many suppositions are still possible when one knows that the heart of a jealous woman is an inexhaustible source of expedients... and we shall understand that in practice polygamy bristles with numberless difficulties. As a general rule, if there are no serious motives which enter into it, like sterility or one of the causes explained below: a simple stray impulse, a desire of the lower instinct, even wealthiness, these alone are not enough for practicing polygamy.

Mo 595 589 b) The second category of polygamists: widows, or the levirate.

000 /109 cont'd/
595 and in part that of polygamy. We wish to speak /110/ of the custom
587 which says that widows upon the death of their husbands should not
leave the husband's family but be remarried, either to the dead man's
brother or to his paternal uncle.

595 We cannot attach too much importance to this institution,
587 first because of its universality, then because of its great age and
●171 the length of its existence. Indeed, this practice has been in force
among all the nomadic peoples who have wandered in the immense
steppes of northern and southern Asia, as Chinese history attests. (1)

1. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 4: A universal custom, which as we shall see, extended for a thousand years over the whole of Tartary, was for the son to take over his deceased father's wives (with exception of his own natural mother) and for younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brethren. It does not appear quite certain whether the son or the brother had first choice; perhaps the brother only took when there was no son, possible vice-versa. /Cited in English./ Parker, p. 19, cites this practice among the Hiung-nu; p. 85, among the Wu hwan and Sien-pi; p. 109, among the T'u-yu-hun. Barthold cites it among the Ouigour and Mongols, cf. note, p. 104.

587 As a consequence of this fact it is not a question of speaking in any way of widow marriage for all this period of history. Widows used to simply pass to other members of the same family. From that

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587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

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101 /111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

114 I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

583 Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among
17 the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a
115 unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

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Mo 675 606 466 583 be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 ●171 The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1),

Ma 606 608 583

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

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> young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions. /Cited in English./

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> Dr. Herbert Koenig, op. cit., pp. 109-110: The essence of this way of concluding a marriage lies in the fact that the bridegroom thereby begins his wooing, that he performs the most menial work for his future father-in-law, who treats him almost like a slave.... In this case, too, an intermediary sometimes is involved, usually the father, some other close relative, or even a friend, who asks the father of the bride whether the suitor can begin his service for the girl. Page 656: Thus, bride service in all likelihood is limited to the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians and is lacking among the Eskimo. /Cited in German./

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and everywhere they seem to hold this practice in respect. /124/ Among the T'ou-jen, according to what one can see, it creates a good many disagreeable situations; thus it is not surprising to hear the elders declare that this custom is practiced much less nowadays than in the good old days. This custom is still found rather often among the Chinese of Kansu.

3. Purchase of a Girl and Search for a Son-in-law Who Will Serve Their Parents-in-law until Death

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Another still more risky combination is one often found in reasonably well-to-do families which have no child. They buy a girl,

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> 1. Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 140: Guest Prostitution. Guest prostitution, which is found among the polar peoples, also belongs in the same category. It is the custom of giving guests not only accommodations and lodgings, but in addition putting the wife or daughter at their disposal for sexual relations. It is very widespread among the polar peoples, although it is not characteristic. I have found no report of it among the central North Asiatics, with the exception of the Tungus. /Cited in German./

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This kind of marriage is practiced more where there is /131/ no son, but only a nubile daughter who has not yet been given in marriage. These are therefore very rare cases. This custom is again a way for the parents to keep their daughter with them; the daughter can in this way know the advantages of motherhood while taking care of her parents; the latter on their part will not have to be exposed to the risks inherent in the practice of husband-sons-in-law. This is the explanation given by the T'ou-jen.

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When the father offers his daughter to some passing guest, the latter must give his belt in exchange and leave it with the girl. The importance attached to the belt has never been explained. We have met the belt twice before in the marriage of widows. The guest goes away in the morning and will perhaps never come back; but if the girl is found pregnant, they make her new clothes as well as a married woman's hat; they comb her hair in the bride's style, they invite several neighbors, they put the belt on red felt spread out on the ground. The girl kneels and makes the great prostration to the belt, to her parents, and to those present, saying that she is the wife of the guest. Later, she will give her child the name of the guest and will herself be called by the same name by all the neighbors, although perhaps she will never see this passing traveler again. The

/152 cont'd/

604 sister's children. Note that even if the father had been living, the procedure would have been the same.

The maternal uncle plays the principal role in the parleys on [762] the occasion of the suicide of his sister's children. Third series of facts: A young woman, an unbearable scold, had abandoned her poor husband to follow a lover in easier circumstances. After two or three years, since she no longer got along with him either, the woman came back to her family, who wanted to return her to her legitimate husband. Fearing that at the least quarrel she might swallow opium and ruin his family, he required the maternal uncle of the shrew to constitute himself guarantor that there would not be any action on the part of his family in case the woman committed suicide. There was a family council, and the maternal uncle signed a contract in the sense indicated after making strongly virulent admonitions to his niece. The maternal uncle had to make the pledge, and not her own father. I met an absolutely similar case among the Chinese of Kansu.

These three series of facts prove the maternal uncle's rights of life and death over his sister's children. They are all of relatively recent date. In none of these cases was the maternal uncle charged at law. This is therefore proof that present-day custom still accepts these rights.

604 /153/ In China also, moreover, the rights of the maternal 171 uncle are very extensive even today; the Chinese proverb says enough about it, "*kieou-fou kao wai-cheng, iang lao tse k'eng pou hia*," i.e., "when the maternal uncle makes a charge at law against one of his sister's children, the children's own father can do nothing to defend them." (1) The maternal uncle has the right to punish his

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1. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, p. 144: If the mother should accuse her son, intervention to stop the execution in this case can be made by the mother's brother, who can take the guilty man under his charge....In the intervention

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of the mother's brother, we can see some survival of an ancient form of the Manchu society which was organised on the principle of materline filiation, in which the mother's clan was a natural protector of its members. It is clear that the part of protector was executed by the mother's brother. Even now the mother's brother ... is generally charged with the moral control over his sister's children (as among the Chinese). Therefore he sometimes is obliged to help his sister's children. He is in very peculiar terms with them ... is much beloved by them ... he helps them in matrimonial affairs, he may also intervene in the education of them ... P. 154: The clan organisation in its institutions, as for example, the woman chieftainship, the peculiar rights and duties of the mother's brother, the mother's privilege to prevent her daughter although she is already married, and several others, retains traces of a great influence of the women and their relatives, which show that the Manchus in former times had another system of social organisation. /Cited in English./

P. 91: During the life of a married couple, the wife's mother's clan has no important part, except in the case of divorce, but relations and high consideration of this clan are always strictly maintained. /Cited in English. /

nephews in China. /

/157 cont'd/

> Ma 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91:
> 574 The second long visit of the newly married
> 593 wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

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562 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is
421 dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home
593 of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This
574 last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

Mo e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

527 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities
844 in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must
Mo note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated
[171] only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

Mo f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

585 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at
562 the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
[171] rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

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592] 1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-se. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

Manchu AG4

Ma /158 cont'd/
606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

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606 In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

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60 All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /159/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for, they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways...., and for them all is accounted for.

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Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.

XM 113 /173 cont'd/

> pp. 1, 2, 3, gives by his bibliography an idea of the present state of the Mongol philological problem.

M 121 whom all degrees of Mongolization are found. /174/ and then to those concerning the Miao and the Lo-lo P'o.

M 585 When one studies the T'ou-jen matrimonial ritual all alone without taking into account the rituals of the other groups, it is an eminently solemn rite which immediately impresses one and which shows itself to be the high moment of the whole wedding. It is indeed the moment when the bride and groom, kneeling one beside the other in the presence of the whole assemblage, standing and silent, of the guests of the two families, give together the three great ritual prostrations "to heaven and to the multifarious spirits," then to the parents and to all the assemblage, while "the old man who blesses" pronounces the good wishes, which say clearly what is meant by the union of the two persons on whom every eye is fixed. When the good wishes are pronounced and the prostrations made, the bride's veil is removed and she is taken to the nuptial chamber as if to signify the end of the great act. If there is a solemn moment in the T'ou-jen wedding, it is certainly this one.

Now we find this rite in all T'ou-jen weddings: in the marriage without ceremony of poor girls, in that of widows without support, and even in the abnormal marriages to the prayer poles and the belt. When all the other rites are missing, the prostration to heaven or to the spirits made by the bride and groom is never omitted. This leads one to believe that in the eyes of the T'ou-jen this rite is by far the most important.

M 585 ● 171 Now, shall we find a similar rite in the other groups? Among the Mongols one meets a scene nearly identical to the one seen among the T'ou-jen; but one is very surprised not to see the groom take part in it beside the kneeling bride. Indeed, the bride alone is brought into the father-in-law's home where the parents and friends of the future wife are gathered; ritual prayers are read; three prostrations are given by the bride to the fire, to the father and mother, to the bride's parents; all give her their blessings aloud. /175/ (Cf. page 81)

/175 cont'd/

585 171 Among the Tungus of the northern group and especially among those of Transbaikalia, the bridal couple come together "to bow to" the guests seated around the fire; the latter kiss the bride's hand and mouth ... a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes for them. (Cf. page 183.) (The author notes Russian influence expressly for this group.)

Among the nomads of the same group, the bride alone is taken in before the father-in-law and kneels before him and the elders of the clan, others throw offerings into the fire.... (Cf. p. 184.)

Among the Tungus of the southern group, especially among the Manchu, the bridal couple kneel together upon their arrival in the husband's courtyard and make three prostrations to heaven and earth and burn incense. (Cf. p. 81.)

Among the Miao it is the groom alone who makes the ritual prostrations in the presence of the relatives gathered together, and an old man enumerates all the duties which he will have to perform henceforward in the tribe. (Cf. p. 99.)

Among the Lo-lo P'o the bride alone makes the prostrations in the kitchen to the god of the hearth. (Cf. page 190.)

Therefore it can be established that one finds only among the T'ou-jen and Manchu the ritual prostrations to the spirits, etc., "made together by the bridal couple"; however, among the Manchu the ceremony is carried out with much less solemnity than among the T'ou-jen.

585 177 Now on the one hand these two peoples are the most Sinicized of all the peoples in question, and on the other hand, it is precisely among the Chinese that one sees practiced the rite of ritual prostrations "made together by the bridal couple" to heaven and earth and to the spirits. One would thus be led to suppose that we are dealing here with a Chinese rite which the T'ou-jen and Manchu have adopted and which the T'ou-jen especially have /176/ admirably thrown into relief in a setting of Mongol origin. Besides, one would be led to make the not-at-all commonplace observation that a rite attributed to the neighbors constitutes today, among the T'ou-jen at least, the high moment of the wedding for the reason that this rite must have responded singularly well to the natural and religious aspirations of the people. But let us undeceive ourselves. This fact is not so Chinese as it may seem

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585 177 on first sight. The base of it is Mongol; what is Chinese is only accidental; this is the presence of the groom beside the bride and the part he takes in a ceremony which already used to exist.

Certainly it is hard for us to understand a wedding in which the two parties do not carry out some rite together, or at least where the two parties are not present. This, nevertheless, is what we have seen among all these peoples except the T'ou-jen and the Manchu.

585 171 What is the high point of the wedding among these peoples?

It seems to me that it is still when the bride is brought in before her parents-in-law, the members of her bridegroom's clan, and all the guests to make all alone the ritual prostrations, to pay her respects and recognize her subjection. It is precisely then that among the Mongol "the ritual prayers are read... and all give her their blessings" (cf. p. 81), that among the Tungus of Transbaikalia "a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes" (cf. p. 183), that among the Miao "while the groom is on his knees, an old man enumerates all the duties he will have to carry out." (Cf. p. 99.)

It would be very interesting for us to know these "ritual prayers and blessings given by all," these "wishes intoned by the shaman," and these "duties enumerated by the old man," for I think it is just at that moment, and at that moment alone, that the true meaning of the festive event is revealed by the wishes made and the blessings implored and wished. And from whom are these blessings awaited? Who will bring about these wishes? These wishes must present a good deal of resemblance with those /177/ made among the T'ou-jen in similar circumstances, and I cannot keep from supposing that this moment of the festival must be just as impressive and just as important in these groups as among the T'ou-jen.

585 114 I allow myself therefore to insist on this ceremony, all the more because it is especially with respect to it that we have the fewest details and that it is often passed by unnoticed in the things relative to marriage.

585 If one turns up one's nose at this rite, then marriage simply loses its meaning among these peoples, since it is reduced to the simple acquisition by purchase of a new member on the part of the bridegroom's family, to the discussions about the price of the girl, to

[12 cont.]

115 respected their customs and did not condemn them or brand them
123 as backward superstitions. In this respect one cannot in the long run disguise his feelings. With a sure sense the natives noticed whether one meets them with good will and respect or regards himself as superior to them. Since the old man was no dolt and had also read many a Chinese book, he knew, for example, that the Chinese tend to dismiss the peoples on their borders as
[181] barbarians. He also knew how the Chinese nearby laugh at the Tujen as backward "natives." And finally he had heard that the Christians designate as superstition much that is dear and sacred to the Tujen and the Chinese. Thus it is understandable that occasionally he would say: "Father, do not be surprised when I tell you such and such. We believe in it." Or: "Please do not laugh at it when we do something in such a way." On his part, this inhibition was extensively bridged by the genuinely tolerant
[829] attitude of the Asiatic: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the ways are different." On my part, the decisive attitude was that every person's conviction is to be respected if he means it honestly, even though, objectively speaking, he may be on the wrong road. The same applies to religion. And when I told the old man, "I believe such and such, you believe such and such, but I am not therefore better than you; it depends upon the conscience," he gladly agreed. Nor was any attempt ever made to influence him in his religion. He knew little about Christianity, but neither did he regard it as mystery-mongering when he inquired about it among my people. They always stressed to him: "You can hear and see everything that we do. We have no secret religion. We tell you everything. If you want to read our books, you may have them." One day he came with the question: "Should I not become a Christian?" I told him: "That depends on you. The heart of a man cannot be forced. Everyone should act according to his insight."

115 It greatly cheered his openheartedness to find many a similarity between the Christian and Tujen ceremonies. Thus
171 he was quite surprised at the fire ceremony on Easter eve. In the church he saw altars, saints' images, an oil lamp. He saw how the Christians fell on their knees. He knew: We, too,

[12 cont.]

115 sacrifice bread and wine, we, too, had a lord of heaven, we, too,
171 had a holy mother; we, too, burned incense; had consecrated
water, blessed houses and cattle; we, too, prayed for the sick and anointed them with oil; we, too, had a baptism; we, too, had a procession through the meadow and prayed for the blessings of good weather; [13] we, too, had a redeemer similar to their Geser; we, too, had temples with solemn prayer and divine service; we, too, had monks and nuns; we, too, had good angels and evil demons.

115 Thus the old man felt more and more at home in our surroundings, even though he no longer spoke of becoming a Christian. In the end his judgment was: "Your religion is better. You help man."

123 As a result of our mutual genuine respect, the old man put me in the right light in his circle of acquaintances, above all among the lamas. They regarded me as one who has religion himself and does not make fun of their gods and monks. Accordingly I was invited one day by a Tujen family to serve as "prayer-sayer" for a funeral service, which, however, I declined. When I entered the Tujen lamasery, the monks assigned me a clean room for the Mass. They understood when I requested pure water for the "sacrifice," and when I preferred not to be interrupted. Then I placed a cross before the images of the Lamaist deities and in the presence of the curious but silent lamas I celebrated the Mass. And just as I never expected the people to kneel, for instance, or to give any other signs of reverence, so they never expected a similar courtesy from us.
[609] By the way, certain travelers report how they had their fortunes told or how they were blessed by this or that hutukhtu, and the like, this makes little impression upon the populace, aside from the fact that the people see through such conduct and often regard it merely as a superfluous gesture of courtesy.

115 In spite of the fact that as the result of this highly satis-
factory relationship I was able to see and hear all kinds of things,
123 I am well aware that I by no means learned everything. No one
likes to tell a foreigner about all the darker sides of his people
or ticklish things. Nor was anything else to be expected in

[22 cont.]

346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through
another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is
preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The sooth-
[791] sayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house
it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one
may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to
the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also
enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch
[562] the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as un-
clean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may
not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion
[846] of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man
pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is
a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclu-
sion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

[765] Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are
members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have
died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If
someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is
unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially
*[778] may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When
this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again;
there is no special purification ceremony (1).

•[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[22 cont.]

783 [Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
171 special sayings concerning this, which
the Tujen lack.

Word List

192 To prophesy: purġandë sila = the spirit to question (2).
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2. [Foreign text p. 23.] This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

192 Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzë̄n; šdien (Tib.) – the consecrated, the sacred (4).
791 dzë̄n (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.
*778

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.] šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if
[787] they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
293 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
*778 or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that
●[171] the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it, which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders. It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
[325] breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
292 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth is not always of this kind. There are also cloths that are larger and that have no bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless
of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens
to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but
[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the
[263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color;
therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than
the white.

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.]
Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot
[262] be imagined without tsamba. They
roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.),
[252] that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain,
and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-
●[171] grain flour is eaten exactly as among
the Tibetans (Fandse). After the con-
[264] sumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48]
kneaded into a dry dough in the tea
bowl with the remainder of the tea and
the butter floating on it, and it is then
eaten in the form of little pellets or
little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used
for the incense offering, however, may
not be kept with the ordinary tsamba.
Every family has a special little box for
it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf.
Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further
details.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant
[439] addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop.
[824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loanword, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[45 cont.]

782 534 [Note on foreign text p.48-49 cont.] "trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pilie (to blow), for instance, dõṅgë pilie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Duṅ-ma, Sanskr. Mangala śankha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nü, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

[171] The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sanskr. dakṣiṇā varta śankha). The sound of such a conch cures [755] [578] sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

[50 cont.]

Details

777
*778 The arrow: Originally the people used a genuine arrow (2).

[411]
●[171]

> 2. [Foreign text p. 52.] According to the reports of the old people, the Tujen arrows are exactly like those of the Fandse and Mongols in Tsinghai. These arrows can be seen in great numbers in every lamasery. Their average length is about one meter. Their feathering is usually radial and made of eagle feathers (ying-mao). The forms of the arrow tips are exceedingly manifold. The material is always iron. -- The children's bows and arrows are simple, crude toys, as in Europe. Nowadays the bow and arrow have disappeared from the life of the Tujen. [178]

They are rare nowadays, since the Tujen no longer have the bow and arrow as weapons. The arrows were very manifold, however. Today, only a simple arrow shaft without tip and feathering is used for the most part. There are no prescriptions for its manufacture.

The urn: An ordinary clay urn or wide vase is used, such as can be obtained anywhere. Sometimes the urn is fitted up like the treasure-urn of the earth-god. In that case, however, not several scrolls, but only one is put in it. Also, fluid butter is not poured over the grain. The following kinds of grain are contained in it: wheat, black and white barley, light and dark Tibetan barley, but never beans, peas, etc. The urn may be of any color. It is not required for the arrow of good fortune, however. Sometimes the latter is simply stuck in a measure of grain or in a wooden cylinder, or no container at all is used and the arrow is stuck anywhere in the beams of the wall,

[51 cont.]

777 *778 787 5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 *778 585 house, namely,during the wedding. While the bride, amidst the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the threshing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back [432] as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

192 777 *778 6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãṅsdzia. Some say yãṅ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãṅbō. The ... bō could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãṅ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãṅbō. The Tujen have a third expression for

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] with the arrow of good fortune and calls out her name. Meanwhile the attendants sing a song in which they conjure everything that the bride takes with her onto the arrow as a "germ," so that it might stay behind. -- The urn that holds the grain brought by the bride-fetchers is a similar matter. This urn is called g, yaṅ-bum in Tibetan and its meaning corresponds with that given by Ch. Das (p. 1150). It contains treasures: gold, silver, money, ornaments, etc. The arrow of good fortune and the urn of good fortune thus carry the germs and vital power of all the blessings of good fortune of the kin group [Sippe], be they animals, human beings, [54] treasures, or seed. They not only carry them, but also guarantee their preservation and increase. This conception, however, is not only found among the Tujen.

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[432]

The shepherd-nomads have a custom similar to that of the Tujen and the agricultural Fandse with their arrow of good fortune. When they sell animals, they tie some of the wool or hair to the tent post or to a string inside the tent. (G. Montell, p. 49, illustration, reports something similar from the Mongols.) This post or string has a special relationship to heaven. Among the agriculturalists the urn appears in accordance with the importance of the agricultural products. Thus, the Chinese likewise have a pao-p'ing, "treasure-vase"; similarly, the Lolo have an ancestral chest in which

● [52 cont.]

171 [Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
777 they keep the ornaments and mementos
*778 of the kin group in order to have a guarantee
for the good fortune and wealth of the
family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above
all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be
of great importance among the Bon; cf. H.
Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184,
178. It plays a special role in the wedding
customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has
[585] described them in the wedding songs. The
wedding customs of the Tujen and their
songs show a certain relationship with these
Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising
[177] since up to the most recent times the Bon
religion in Amdo had a strong influence.
The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals,
mother-treasures, to which all
other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go
back, however, belongs to the world-view
of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder
[Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals
[533] are also celebrated in song by the
Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name
xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually
stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among
whom it is called g, yañ-dkar, "white good-fortune,"
or g, yañ-dkar lug, "sheep of
the white good-fortune." Although various
[825] animals are celebrated in song, the
sheep stands in the center as the supreme
blessing of good fortune.

If one ties these conceptions together,
777 it may be stated of the yañsdzia: It bears
*778 within it the germs and origins of the
[772] gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings
are allied more with heaven (are

[57 cont.]

*778 [621] [Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] on a raised terrace with a beautiful incense oven in front of it. Frequently a mani-pole with a fluttering pennant also stands in the center of the obo. [792] The most beautiful and largest mani-trees are found in front of the entrance gates of the Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; they are up to 15 meters long and bear flags up to five or eight meters long which are printed all over with Tibetan texts. -- ●[171] Mani-poles are found even among the Chinese, although rarely.

The tip (4): The tip is cut out of a wooden board as thick as a thumb, in the shape of a sun resting on a half-moon. A small semicircle sits on the sun, and the moon has a handle with which the tip is set on the end of the pole. Everything, sun, half-moon, and handle, is cut out of one piece. This tip, however, does not sit directly on the pole, but instead is stuck through a round wooden plate-sized disk that comes to rest vertically on the end of the pole (5). The sun with its attached

4. [Foreign text p. 60.] This tip also occurs again and again on chorten, temple roofs, coffins, in symbols, etc. -- [792] The large mani-trees mentioned above in front of the yard of the Living Buddhas, however, usually have a golden ball in place of the sun-moon tip.

5. [Foreign text p. 60.] The old man knew of no name for the round disk through which the handle of the moon sickle is stuck. He thought

[57 cont.]

*778 attached to the tree along the long side. On the average the length is 150 to 200 centimeters. The master of the household first takes this bolt of cloth to a lamic monastery where it is [782] printed with prayers and the picture of an air-horse in the monastery press, only on one side, however. About three-quarters of the flag is covered with prayers, and the lowest quarter with the air-horse. At home the man or the woman then sews a row of strings on one long side, with which the flag is tied to the pole. [58]. The other long side, fluttering in the breeze, is [822] provided with five tabs of cloth in the five sacred colors. The length depends on the flag. Usually they are about two fingers wide and a finger long. They may be quadrangular or triangular. The flag is likewise fumigated and placed next to the cover on the household altar. For these tabs, too, there are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material (7).

[192] 7. [Foreign text p. 61.] The mani-flag has various names; cf. below, Note 10. All these names apply in the first place to the horse-image, then to the flag, and finally to the entire tree. The image is the most important, especially when one considers that paper images are also in use.

*778 796 782 On every flag or every image there are the most varied sayings and representations, in Tibetan or Chinese or Mongolic. Sometimes the horse also bears on its back the sign of good fortune, nuru. These paper horses play • [171] an important role in the ceremony of releasing the horses, which is performed by the Tujen as well as by the Chinese and Tibetans. This ceremony is practiced at certain times of the year, for instance, in the month of the

[59 cont.]

357 *778 [527] [171] festive banquet; the people sing and dance around the new central fort (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 61.] The round manger is also commonly erected by the Chinese. The farther east one goes, however, the rarer it becomes. In any case, among the Chinese the mani-pole in the round manger is lacking, and sometimes even the structure, in other words, the manger itself. For them it is important only that an urn be buried in the center of the yard, and the construction of every compound practically begins with this burial of the urn. This spot or the round manger is called chung-kung, that is, central fort, or yüan-ts'ao, that is, round manger. The ceremony is performed by the lay bonze or by a Tao-shih, temple bonze, but usually the geomancer indicates the spot where the urn (or the urns) is to be buried. This is connected, however, with the geomantic determination of the whole compound.

*778 539 Song: After the erection of the central fort or the mani-tree, the following song is popularly sung: "If one steps through the large gate, what then is round? If one steps through the large gate, then the round manger is round; half-yaks, mules, horses form a circle, and in the middle rises the mani-tree. If one steps into the kitchen, what then is round? If one steps into the kitchen, the kettle and lid are round; cups, bowls, and dishes form a round herd, the wooden spoon rises up in the middle. If one steps into the main house, what then is round? If one steps into the main house, the fire basin is round. Relatives and friends sit around it, and in the middle the wine jar rises up."

[59 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.]
192 Concerning its meaning as "fate," cf.
*778 Part Two, II, 1, c. -- Perhaps the Chinese
lung-ma is also only a phonetic
[773] imitation of this Tibetan rluṅ (air), which
perhaps came about because the dragon-horse,
which likewise is called lung-ma,
appears in legends and tales as a wonder
horse. In the Sining chronicle, in the
chapter on the Koko Nor Lake, there is
a passage concerning this dragon-horse.
In certain times the T'u-yü-hun were
supposed to drive their horses (quite bad
ones, too) into the lake, and they would
then couple with the dragon. The
horses descended from them were supposed
to be able to cover thousands of miles in
a day.

For the paper prints of the air-horses
[782] the Chinese usually say lu-ma (good-luck
●[171] horses). They claim that the above-mentioned
"releasing" of these horses,
fang lu-ma, is an old Chinese custom,
whereas the Tujen, Fandse, and lamas
claim it as their own tradition. -- In
addition, the Chinese have gold-yellow
paper leaves attached to house gates,
animals, etc., which they burn on various
occasions. They are called chih-ma
[63] (paper-horses) or piao-ma (leaf-horses).
Although there is no horse-image
on it, many people derive the ...ma
from "horse."

The ta-ch'iu is a Chinese literary botching of dardzioġ; one hears this expression mostly in the region of Tangkar. dardzioġ corresponds to the Tibetan dar lcog (DMF, p. 44); according to Ch. Das

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects
782 the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated
three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacri-
[776] fices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a
[792] lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-
horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on
[791] which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes
place near the obo.

Details

*778 Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height.
[621] A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest moun-
tain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several
[628] villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they
agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

•[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell.
At the same time the people burn incense at several places,
kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last
the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he
takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with
holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows
with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings
that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw
some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers
are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already
placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have
thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then
all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones
and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more
make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo
782 is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A
sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be
connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women,
old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the
mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths,
and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear
[178] throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo
festival is also celebrated by the

[66 cont.]

527
[171] [Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.] Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowadays these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times. [178]

*778 776 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check. [782] [825]

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit. [411]

[782] The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[76 cont.]

*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
346 are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
782 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too, however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
[772] connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[751] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the bẽnkãn. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam. Also, in the case of the customs [772]

[171]

[76 cont.]

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•171

[Note on foreign text p. 79 cont.] connected with the erection of the chamber no inner relationship to the content finds expression. These are the same customs that are practiced in connection with all housebuilding by the Tsinghai Chinese.

Word List

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Chorten chamber: bẽṅkãṅ (Tib. loanword) = countless chamber (house) (1) [see Note 1 above].
ger-kãṅ, ger (Tuj.) = house, kãṅ = chamber.
ma-ni lou (Chin.) = mani-house (high house).

Sky column: sõṅ-siṅ (Tib. loanword) - protective tree (wood) (7).
t'ung-t'ien chu (Chin.) = to connect sky column.

7. [Foreign text p. 79.] sõṅ siṅ: Tibetan skyoṅ - to preserve, protect, šiṅ = wood. -- sasa: Tibetan ts'a ts'a = little conical clay cones. -- sena: Tibetan sna = group, category. -- šder: Tibetan gser = gold. -- wsirë: Tibetan byi-ru (pronounced šuru) = coral. -- sōdãṅ: could come from the Chinese (?). ts'u-t'ang - vinegar-pool. -- sguora: Tibetan skor ba = to circle around. -- rëduombẽṅ: Tibetan rdō = stone, 'bum = 100,000 (Unkrig).

Clay chorten, clay cone: sasa (Tib. loanword), tza-tza (4) [see Note 4 above].

[621 cont.]

551 [Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serãṅ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdziġ, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to [171] the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sĕrã̆ṅ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 791 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, however, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

[592] If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. -- 553 592 [792] This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It

[621 cont.]

553 [592] [792] 4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

[431] [527] [273] [562] Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

852 [431] [553] Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[171] [846] 2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[623]

Details

852 787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world- [776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãńrēdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune- [624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps [778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

[623 cont.]

852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of
778 good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other
852 man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There
another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy
or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a consecrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example,
[171] among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

[62[illegible] cont.]

302
852

[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.]
(roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852 [782] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
852
• 171

5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.]
The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[623 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.] are carried out by the grandmother on the maternal side ..." etc. "Before this festival is celebrated, a large bamboo sieve, such as the farmers use for screening the grain, is placed on the table before the ancestral tablets, where incense and candles have already been lighted. On this sieve are placed a series of coins, a pair of scissors, an ell measure, a copper mirror, brush, inks, paper, inkstone, one or two books, the abacus, a gold or silver ornamental object or some other implement, fruit, etc. The child wears the new clothes which it has just been given and is put on the sieve amidst the objects. Now it is a question of what the child grasps first, holds, and plays with. This moment has an exceedingly great fascination for the parents and assembled friends. It is said that the object the child seizes first indicates its later activities, profession, character, and position in the world. If the child is a boy and seizes a book or an object that has something to do with literature, such as a brush or ink, then one assumes that he will be a great scholar. If he grasps the money or [625] gold and silver objects, then he will be famous on account of his wealth and skill in acquiring money. Once in the Sung dynasty a girl, when she was a year old and had been set on the sieve, first grasped two little miniature weapons with one hand and with the other two vessels such as are used for certain offerings on state occasions. After a few minutes she laid these things

[623 cont.]

852 [Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
•171 down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

527 The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). [769] Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. [177] [769] The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

192

Word List

[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

192
776 [623 cont.]
The three world-spirits: *dier xsēm sãṅrēdzi* (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] *dier xsēm sãṅrēdzi*: *xsēm* = Tib. *gsum* = three; *saṅrēdzi* = Tib. *saṅs-rgyas* = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- *dier* cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, *Quellen* [Sources], p. 139; Francke, *Hochzeitslieder* [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic *san-ching* or the Buddhistic *san-chieh*.

192
777 The five blessings of good fortune: *wu-fu* (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 3. The New Year's Festival*

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* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[771]
[574] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[626 cont.]

527 782 [783] [789] [Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to
[789] smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. To-
[171] gether with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was
[776] [372] unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[372] [783] Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[626 cont.]

527 782 [372] [783] ● [171] [Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.] the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177] It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821] The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three taġur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

527 [627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

171
527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming
[776] of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787] 7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[627 cont.]
527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from
533 the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

[535] [171] 5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite
[171] crude. The melodies to a great extent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song
[539] given here is Tibetan in its original
[883] text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] figures (Chin. t'ao-t'ieh) and the underworld. Professor C. Hentze in his most recent works has extensively revealed these connections, and one is referred to them here. -- I learned nothing concerning the conception that the dead must be placed in a sleeping position, although it is known that the nomads there on the Koko Nor sleep in this position, which can sometimes also be observed among Chinese and Tujen during the day.

764 the arms bent, the hands are put with the palms together and pressed upright against the chest so that they touch the chin. The thumbs are not crossed. The wrists are tied together with a hemp string and this is placed around the neck so that the hands stay together and cannot fall forward. Then the thighs are pressed firmly against the chest and arms and the calves against the thighs, so that the feet and seat rest in one plane. The feet are wound with a hemp string so that they will stay in position (4). Now one takes a quadrangular piece of cloth,

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4. [Foreign text p. 652.] The binding of the corpse is not regarded as tying down the dead person to prevent him from returning, as is the intention among the Chinese with the tying together of the feet. The informant claims that the binding has only the purpose of making the crouching position secure.

[775] In view of the otherwise common use of sheep wool, it is striking that only hemp strings are taken. As a reason the people say that if one took wool, the dead would be reborn as an

[636 cont.]

764 171 [775] [Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.] animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

[789] The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is [766] called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.] The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that [789] the cloth is usually taken off before cremation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before crema- [766] tion, but that it had no magical power and was used for profane purposes. The

[636 cont.]

764 [766] [Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

[171] The death-box. The death-box is made either long before death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades beforehand. [735] Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a [532] [171] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. [556] The box is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and [322] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the preparation of the box. [465] The carpenter receives the usual fee for

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

[638 cont.]

764 [Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.]
412 the declared opponent of the white
[776] tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger
is powerless against anything that
comes from the dead or is connected
with the dead; he fears coffins, death-
[322] boxes, burials, etc. For that reason
coffin-making is the best opportunity
for making a rolling pin, and there-
fore the rolling pin is propped against the
death-box. The relationship of the
tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutra-
[322] lized. -- People very rarely have a
rolling pin made other than at the time
of a burial; the carpenter must then
plane the pole on a threshing roller,
the enemy of the white tiger. The
millstone also has an effect similar
to that of the threshing roller, for it
crushes the provider of the "white,"
that is, the grain from which the flour
comes.

764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table
with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box.
171 Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the
[782] Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside
from the bone-casket I once saw a
small wooden casket of coffin-like
form beside a death-box. The peo-
[789] ple said a small manlike doll lay in
it. It was supposed to keep misfortune
and death away from the house. The
informant had not yet seen that and
thought that this custom had come from

[638 cont.]

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● 171

[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. [789] The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

764
782 Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

[171]
[354]

10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-gifts and offering regulations correspond with those of the Chinese. The water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

[638 cont.]

764 [Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.]
782 on the oil. This is to prevent the
[354] wick from burning too far down into
the bowl; in order to save oil, the
lower half is filled with water. --
• [171] The Chinese dough-lamp of long life,
ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do
with this lamp; it is unknown to the
Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc.
[264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten.
Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

[171] 11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The
paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married
daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then
782 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the
593 daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes
place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The
oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether
or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried
[589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time
[152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps
aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[638 cont.]

292 765 Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

[171] During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[640 cont.]

764 [Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.]
602 hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the
602 death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
604 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's
brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

[763]
[273] 14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce
[178] the death to the mother's brother
[171] by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The origi-
[212] nal practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how
large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

764 [640 cont.]

[602] [604] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly

15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, 764 601 which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own ● [171] family, dzienani kudě, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already [592] married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šäni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, uroġ, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. [177] Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

[649 cont.]

792 766 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes [212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

[171] 23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212]

Word List

192 764 Cremation:	ġaldë awu- = to put in the fire.
To die:	ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.
He died sitting:	sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin.) = transformed sitting.
Death of a bonze:	niesȧ sdzia = he has flown away. yū-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.
Death of a lama:	siaǵladzia = he has turned to nothing.
[775] He is reborn:	hărga (xara) rēdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.
One has put him in the crouching position:	ndãnlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.
The dead person:	guei woldzān kun = departed person.
Death clothing (shoulder hanging):	bŏw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.
Death lament:	dŏ tędzi ula.

[828 cont.]

The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the
241 farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an
789 offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the
791 seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In
former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time
782 and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the
weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the
case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish
789 bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only
among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The
776 goat has special protective power because its head serves as an
825 anvil for the god *Dȁntsien Sãṅ*. He is the smith in the weather
821 ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

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●[171] 5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese *lei-pu* (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the
[791] Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, *Tibetreise*). -- Concerning the storm-god *Dȁntsȁn* (*Dȁntsien Saṅ*) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
befalls the seed and human beings (6).

821
[825]
[776]
●[171]

6. [Foreign text p. 830.] Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

[778] Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[833 cont.]

241 782 171 Distribution: The mountain sheep-offering is practiced everywhere there are Tujen, even among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiahsifan (5). In some regions it is also

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5. [Foreign text pp. 834-835.]

241 782 231 The ritual of slaughter and offering described here is typical for all slaughtered offerings. In the case of goats and pigs the procedure is the same. Because the pig squeals too much when slaughtered (it is not unconscious), its mouth is tightly tied together. The pouring with milk is omitted for pigs. The sheep's mouth is likewise held shut. Perhaps this is a survival from a suffocation sacrifice.

241 782 In the case of longer festivals the slaughtered animal is not cut up immediately, but is tied to a longish table or frame after the skinning and the removal of the entrails, and in its natural position with the legs spread apart, if possible standing and with head raised. It is placed before the deity or the temple entrance in this fashion. Only at the conclusion of the festival is it cut up and boiled. Sometimes the cut-up uncooked parts are also presented before the deity.

The distribution of the sacrificial meat is usually done in the form indicated after the cooking as a meal. The hide is usually given back to the owner; the [835] head is received by the seedmaster or the officiating supervisor. Bon priests, lamas, shamans, etc. who

[833 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 834-835 cont.] have been invited often receive a loin, jou-fang-tzu (Chin.), that is, "meat square," or a thigh, etc. These are not cooked, but are laid aside for this purpose.

For the rest, there are always minor variations, but always the following sequence: purification (washing), slaughtering, offering, meal. Slaughtering, offering, and meal may sometimes be distributed over various days.

[171] the custom among Chinese, but not generally. The Chinese, however, do not go on the mountains for this purpose, but make the offering in the local temple.

Word List

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To sacrifice a sheep on the mountain: uladë xoni šënlie- (šënlie-)
Offering throw: dziarin uġuo = to give throwing away.
p'ao-ts'an (Chin.) = to throw away.
Own area: dzienani satsia.
Empty utensils: huodzën sawa;
k'ung chia-shih (Chin.).

[Pages 834-835 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[835]

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4. The Procession around the Field*

*See "Notes," pp. 838-839 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

● [171 797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

241 [Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
782 but only for the period of the sowing
624 festival with the cult dances. -- The
794 Christian missionaries have taken
[171] over this arrangement for their
ecclesiastical celebrations and folk
[797] festivals. Thus, besides the community
mayors there are also special
supervisors who, for instance, organize
the festival for processions or at
Easter, accommodate the guests,
slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

241 It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several
782 soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all
791 appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from
outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is
determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the
spring (aradziañ) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The
241 procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the
782 seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the
coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many
and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [778] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have [171] this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.]
The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On these occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] extent taken over this ch'a-p'ai, in other words, the procession with the driving in of thunderbolts, in place of the former aradziañ (pole-goat), and for the reason that there are hardly any Bon priests. The chuan-shan of the Chinese, however, is not the same as their procession around the fields, sguora. To be sure, it also took place in the summer, but every 14 days, whereas they would hold their field procession only once. Nowadays, however, when the Tujen are already half-Chinese, they would also do it more simply, but therefore more frequently, just like the Chinese.

It is difficult to say what is earlier. It appears that a Lamaistic custom is not involved, for one never invites a lama, and even the Buddhist books are unnecessary. There must always be a soothsayer, however, with the spirit invoked. It is therefore possible that this procession [839] is connected with the original shamanistic weather conjuration as it is still practiced today, and that the Buddhist books did not come in until later.

The Chinese field procession, on the other hand, makes an impoverished impression. Only flags and musical instruments are taken along. The people participate only very poorly, and the procession lasts only three to four hours. Formerly the conch was blown on these occasions, but no longer now. The conch, however, is a peculiar feature of the Tujen and Fandse, not of the Chinese. Furthermore, the field procession

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

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Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

[841 cont.]

778 825 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be eaten.

[262] [432] Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away, for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

[422] There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

[787] Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

[776] There are gods who ride the animals, for instance, Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

[792] 3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulōh each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

[171] It could not be discovered which gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

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[1] [i.e - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

[842 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]

The second name is šdier; šdier corresponds to the Mongolic seter; cf. DMF, p. 335, "sdier, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. seter, ord. se't'er id." [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration bands and the consecrated animal with šdier. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A.Unkrig (communication), seter is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. seter also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For seter, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents bsruṅ rtags. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination bsruṅ rtags.

778 [791] Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

[211] Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171] Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

[842 cont.]

778 /71 isolated instances do they copy it from the Tujen, where they live with them. The Fandse (Tangut) and also the lamic monasteries do have the animal-consecration. There it is much more solemn (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 844.] The animal-consecration among the neighboring Chiahsifan in Benbar (Hsi-ch'uan) is similar to the one described here. There, however, one only takes animals capable of reproduction, but no asses. The preferred colors are chestnut-colored hide with black mane and black tail (hung-tsao-liu) and eggshell-colored hide with black mane and black tail (yin-k'uo). In place of a band of material one takes small hand-sized rags (cut in the form of streamers) in the five sacred colors and ties them together. Usually they are tied in the mane. -- The consecration is not performed by private persons, but by the lama, shamans, or Bon priests. A one-day prayer service is connected with it. -- The animals are usually kept for use in the house, and even ridden, but a saddle that a woman has used may never be put on them. The renewal takes place every year on the same day of the first consecration.

One sees many riders with such beribboned animals.

[846 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[848 cont.]

789 2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether
778 the horse's skull represents the
532 riding animal of the spirit could
791 not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day
[787] the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books
the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away.
[791] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and
[533] give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum,
sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.
[782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long
migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have
[171] this custom.

[755] 4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This
ceremony is very similar to the
figure-conjuration of the shamans

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

532 [171] [789] 2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

755 782 Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[850 cont.]

755 756 [787] The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar. Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air, and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171] [789] 5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. 755 782 Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

[854 cont.]

Details

755 Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism:
789 1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked
in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are sev-
[416] eral. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-
pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with
oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow.
The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil
and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to
two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are
plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just
be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine
point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or
[778] sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms. -- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[171] 3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rgulõn, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namśri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a mani-pole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

[858 cont.]

782 778 [Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] silk wrapping, etc. is transferred into the urn; in other cases without this deity, as, for instance, the urns accompanying the central urn in the chorten chamber and central fort, or, as in the preceding section, alone. In this case it is to be conceived as a representation of the earth with its vital and germinating forces and its treasures, as was shown above in the section on the arrow of good fortune. In the other case the earth-god takes his seat in his realm (urn). The urn is simply a part of the representation of the world-picture (mandala), as the realm of the earth-god.

776 782 What these earth deities are is unclear. In any case the *ġlu* (Tib. *klu*) or *Nagas* belong among them. In addition, however, another earth-deity is venerated among the Tujen, which perhaps is of Chinese origin, for like the Chinese they also have a pig offering in honor of the earth-god and certain ceremonies for pardon that are connected with a grain offering. They are performed especially in connection with digging, housebuilding, etc., or when someone suffers harm while digging. Unfortunately I was no longer able to record these ceremonies. It cannot be definitely determined whether this earth-spirit is male or female.

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Another group to be considered is *sman*. A part of the filling is called *ġlu-smăn* (Tib. *klu-sman*); cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering," Note 11. According to H. Hoffmann,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] Quellen (pp. 160 ff.), no clarification can be obtained concerning the Sman: "We can only conclude from the places at which they are mentioned, that earth-spirits or local spirits are involved." -- G. Tucci, Tib. Painted Scrolls (pp. 720 ff.), regards the Sman as the feminine counterparts of the gods and explains the connection between medicine and femininity in the following manner: "sman means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sman were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed" [cited in English]. And further below: "... but nothing prevents us from understanding 'lha and their wives' ..." [cited in English]. -- Therefore in the case of the treasure urn we would be dealing with the klu and their feminine counterparts, the sman.

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The burying of the treasure urn is often equated by the Chinese with the burying of other vessels. These are two different things, however. Chinese and Tujen often put tea bowls, vessels, and the like, with the opening [860] downward, into the ground in order to exorcise and hold down the demons. This custom, however, originates from shamanistic practices, such as the Taoists also have. Thus the shamans there throw tea bowls in the air or on the ground so that the demons will be capped (this is done when the bowl falls with the opening down),

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

192
782 Earth-god: ġlu (glē).
Earth-god urn: sĕnoġ-der; sĕnoġ (Tib.) = to meditate;
[776] der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
[778] To buy an urn: sĕnoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.
Contents of the urn: rdzē (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.]
Concerning rdzē, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[862 cont.]

778 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until
three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the members
782 of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals.
In summer, however, they are often already so moldy
that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas
[171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is
similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise
set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth
day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents
the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is
also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts
it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it,
as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of
barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of
incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from
[792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense
in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and
says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free
the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the
torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the
birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally
a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is
not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas,
but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is
therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is
placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the
rest.

782 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the
824 following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the
tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the
particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only
fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is
popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as
an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free
of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for
the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

[864 cont.]

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[325]
[351]
[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws [532] a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again withdraws into the house for prayer.

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5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

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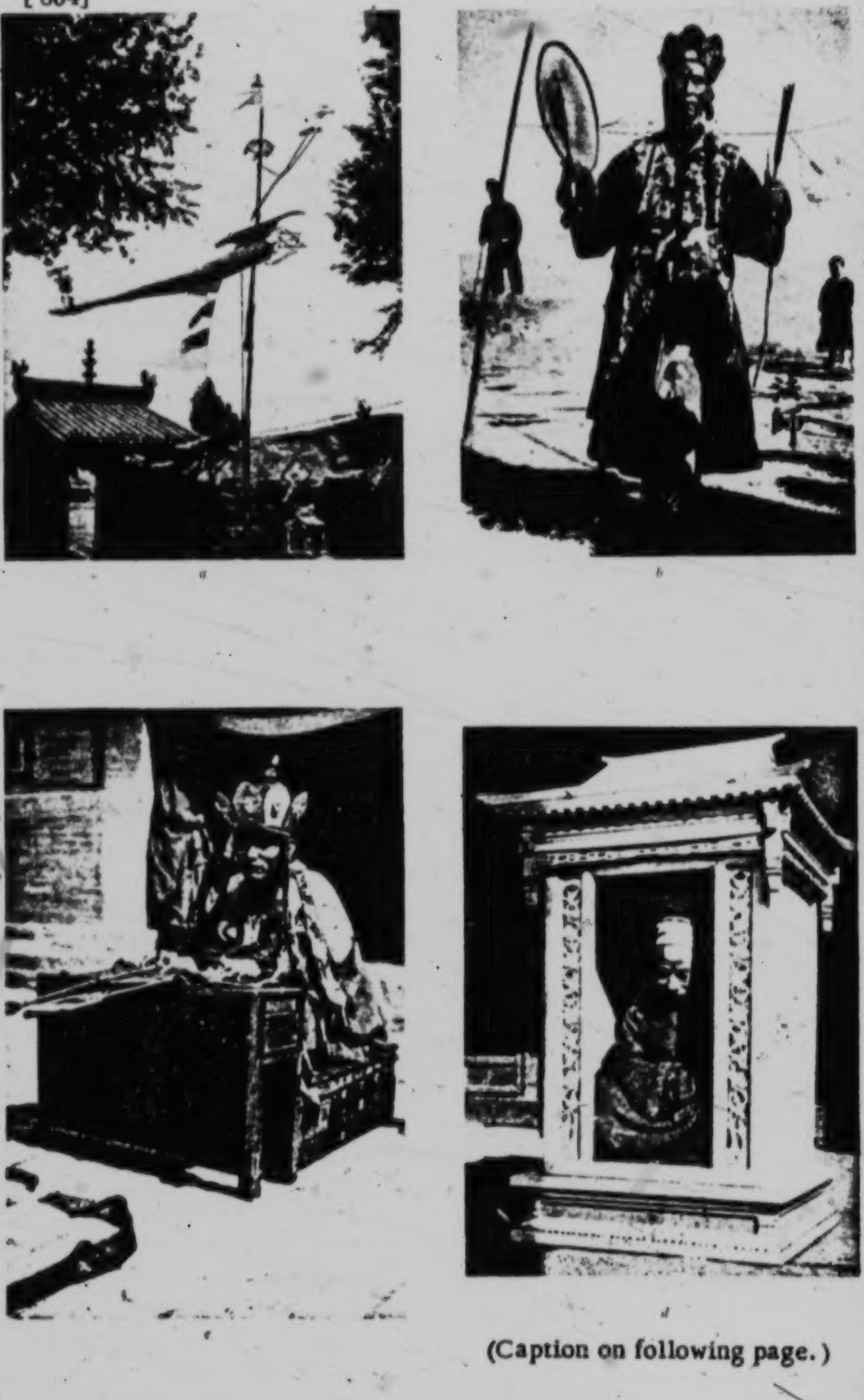

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
752 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[292] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[534] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
[142] with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
[171] Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsioġ and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsioġ fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsioġ (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsioġ with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is
792 widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken
● [171] in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

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8.[Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guăm-basoma) west

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Conclusion*

* For the first part of this work, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870 [the "First Part" above in the HRAF translation]. A supplement to the bibliogtaphy there, pp. 2-4 [see foreign text; the bibliography was not reproduced for the translation], will be found at the end of this article; see below p. 259 [see foreign text].

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Second Part: Analysis

An all-round picture of the Tujen religion can only be drawn within the frame of a broader cultural view, for which the other records from the rich treasure of legends and songs are also utilized. Over and above this, a judgment concerning the cultural and religious historical-relationships requires a comparison with the neighboring Chinese, Tangut, Mongols, and Yugur (1). [171]

[174]

1. A comparison with both the eastern part of north China (Tungus) and the southwest would also be very informative. The tradition of the Tujen speaks of an eastern origin, and the peoples upon whom they are superimposed in the present-day Amdo originally belonged to the Ch'iang, of whom large parts migrated toward the south into present-day Kham, Szechwan, and Yunnan. This conception has been advocated for a long time by the Chinese; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder: Die Fandse, pp. 1 f. It has now been confirmed by Professor Doctor J. F. Rock for the Na-khi. A comparison

[202 cont.]

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with their religion is justified all the more since it has preserved the pre-Buddhistic form in a much less corrupted state than the religion of the mother country, which lies within the effective range of the Yellow Church (Kumbum); see below, pp. 390 ff. In addition the Na-khi possess a religious literature in which the old customs are unequivocally fixed, and which J.F.Rock has worked over and published; for this whole subject, cf. J.F.Rock, Na-khi Kingdom; id., Naga Cult, I, pp. 2 f., and Muan Bpö, p. 7. Unfortunately, these works, which represent a treasure trove for knowledge of the pre-Buddhist belief in the Chinese-Tibetan border region, could not be adequately quoted here.

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[171]

It is true that in the notes of the first part extensive consideration was given to this, so that now it is already established that the religion of the Tujen and of their Lamaistic neighbors do not differ from each other in many ways. A further analysis and summary of the question, however, [203] would grow into a series of special essays that would go too far beyond this work, which, after all, is primarily intended to be a survey.

The present material, however, is ample enough to characterize the basic features of the religious framework, which even a later and more precise treatment will scarcely change. This characterization will be attempted in a cross- and longitudinal section. The one offers a total picture of the religious world-view; the other shows the more or less interpenetrating layers of the religion.

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

192 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration:
774 namsü (namšë) and suniedzë. The word namsü is seldom used.
According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan
ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in
Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning:
"...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English].
The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will
probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsü not with
ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-śe.
Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge,
intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A.Jäschke, on the
other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language:
soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The
much more frequently used word suniedzë has the same meaning.
It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sünesün. Both namsü and
suniedzë signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigë
774 kundu ġuran namsü-i, or nigë kundu suniedzë ġuran-i, that is:
775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And
of what kind are these souls? torõń yesë saġdzini, ġuordani
sdziewa awura sdzini, ġurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361),
that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth,
the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op.
cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der
Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat],"
Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition,
[171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically
influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the
Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld,
one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around
in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can
separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at
764 least until the rite of the bãda has been completed, whereby it
604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[206 cont.]
775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, how-
604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
[769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the
case of the băda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower
•171 forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life,
exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
●171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring
Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It
is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this
world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through
the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at
any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cre-
mation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power.
This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long
as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the
person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer,
so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left
undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are
vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Noth-
ing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a trans-
formation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this
soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any
rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites
is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish
to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It be-
comes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee
589 from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls.
The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for
in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen
conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female
person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
[171] Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: *pudaǧ ilie*, unclean demon; a woman is also *pudaǧ* during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special
relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise
that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being,
which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet
and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a
person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among
the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely
to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit
it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal
trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little
concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To
them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The
Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not
infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses
itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171 are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
769] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[764 the deceased would remain among the living and would need to
partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are
782] so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
774 even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[573] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined
[753] is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said
that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape
of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756 for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This
755] catching of the soul is called: suniedzẽ xura-. It is unclear from
this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same
as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Bud[illegible]stic India, and in Central
Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru
(rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun,
moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the
earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals.
Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the under-
world and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety
or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found
most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less
clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the
chorte[illegible]chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-
drawin[illegible] (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[210 cont.]

772 with it (3).

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3. The arrow of good fortune, in other words, occupies the place of the tree of life, to which men, animals, and plants owe their existence and their development; cf. Uno Holmberg, *Der Baum des Lebens* [The Tree of Life], p. 69 f. Among the Na-khi this tree of life is the juniper tree (Juniperus). The well-being, wealth, and the unfolding of life of human beings are ascribed to it; cf. J.F.Rock, *Muan Bpö*, pp. 21, 42, 94. As the wood of life, the arrow of good fortune in the house also represents the world axis, similar to the central column in temples, chortens, god-figures (human spinal column), which is designated by the Tibetan name *srog šiń*, that is, the wood of life. H.A.Jäschke (*Dictionary*, p. 585) translates the expression with "axle, axle tree" [cited in English]. As a supplement, let it be mentioned that this *srog šiṅ* is probably also the equivalent for the Tujen name of the sky-column (*sõṅ-śiṅ*) in the chorten chamber; cf. *Anthropos* 47, 1952, pp. 76, 78, 79 [pp. 143, 137, 143, in the HRAF translation]. (Personal suggestion from Professor Doctor R. Stein).

The conception of the arrow of good fortune as a personification of the god of life is no longer vital among the Tujen. That it may have this significance is proved by the Na-khi in southwestern China. Instead of the treasure urn with

[210 cont.]

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the arrow of good fortune of the Tujen, they have a basket. In it, among other things, there is a miniature tower; it represents the god of life, called Ssu, Tibetan srog lha. The basket is his home. The miniature tower (t'a, "pagoda") may also be replaced by an arrow, so that this represents the god of life; cf. J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 146, 250, 251 (according to a personal communication). The significance of the god of life and his home agrees with the significance of the arrow of good fortune and the treasure urn. -- S. Hummel has also pointed to the arrow as the bearer of reproductive power and of the cosmic vital force; cf. Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien [Secret Tibetan Paintings], pp. 8-14 passim.

Very ancient and widespread representations are involved here. The connection of god of life and ancestor and his seat in an urn or basket, etc. can be followed all the way to Indochina; and in the burial urns and Shang bronzes in ancient China are probably to be seen the forerunners of the pagoda as seat of the god of life or ancestors, whose modern modification is the ancestral tablet, and in a certain sense also the hearth-god tsao-chün, which is also called ssu-ming (director of life). This as a brief reference.

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A special work concerning the

[210 cont.]

772 [778] gurtum [illegible] will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly.
[171] They are recently elaborated variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 383. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan
[821] ġadasë). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the
[533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[211 cont.]

772 [533] [171] the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree, which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II. Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 779 With this harmonious conception of the world and its close connection with human beings, one would also expect a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaṅ idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

## [212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 776 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[212 cont.]

782 [778] [574] The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] [778] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. [171] Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 574 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 826 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized: the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[222 cont.]

782 it was surmised that a primitial offering might likewise be involved, for it is the first offering of the day, in which man gives to heaven something of all things important to life. Arguing against the primitial offering, however, is the simple form of the incense offering, which consists essentially of the burning of fragrant things, of cypress twigs (4), flowers, etc. These, however, are no longer foodstuffs if one disregards the water with which the fuel for the fire is sprinkled in order to purify it.

782 539 [171] [223] This simple form of the incense offering seems at the outset to have been reserved exclusively for heaven and is of great antiquity. It is also attested to among the Mongols as a heaven-offering, and among the Tujen it is found in numerous songs. Several citations will confirm this, first from the Geser legend. In Verses 1-6 the customs of the first human

[824] 4. When the popular word cypress is used here, the Thuja tree in the botanical sense is always meant; cf. *Anthropos*, 47, 1952, p. 46 [p. 72 above in the HRAF translation]. The Tujen name *šgua* (= Tibetan *šug-pa*) has several meanings. Among the Tujen the Thuja tree always represents the cypress, and above all the juniper (Juniperus), which in their region of cultivation occurs only infrequently and at most is encountered in the mountains. The difference is purely material; in the religion the Thuja tree takes over the position of the juniper and the cypress. Professor Doctor J.F.Rock, as a botanical expert, no longer found any cypress north of Minchow (Kansu), but he did still find ten species of juniper (personal communication).

[224 cont.]

782 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal in-
174 cense offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad
odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of
the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to
these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are
distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go
[773] back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the
Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that
the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar
782 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-
174 Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A. H. Francke, Tibetische
171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-
Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already
been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and
they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as
is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the
782 incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle.
174 It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting
[538] culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

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6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

[228 cont.]
776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Šdenlatsien Sañ has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the
earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense
offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition
of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit
and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and
earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purğan,
a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition,
the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven.
What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this
192 name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao
(mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf.
above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads,
however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to
W.A.Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection)
and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation
corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be
appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
•171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo
festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is
repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too --
as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied
an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952,
pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a
mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches
over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees,
and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He
is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its
weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise,
however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven; even if
he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the
lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and
heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection
with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance,
the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed
residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place,
heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit
[553] can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who
are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the
[752] shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether
[787] out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one
even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain
spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless,
imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an
exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
776 glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic
[192] the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language.
It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs
with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen
more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic.
It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the
ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic.
According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the
ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is
probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name
itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived
as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics
that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit.
It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be
associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieṅgëre dardzia, heaven has punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
[192] literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolĝug dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieṅgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa daṅlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fs̀dzũn tieṅgërde fdzẽ bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[283 cont.]

776 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of
773 heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniedzēne tieṅgēre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection
776 with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune,
which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is
192 whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say,
171 that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžël, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzël.

šdiemdzël, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popular-
[533] ly end with the verse: moṅġol kuni lõṅšda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžëlgë rëdziġlaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžël would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžël cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džël, however,

[*233 cont.*]
777 is undoubtedly to be equated with the Mongolic *dsol* (*dzol*). According
to Koval. (2386), it means: good fortune, salvation.
776 Koval. gives the Tibetan equivalent *stes* for it. When one notes
192 that the Tujen always insert an *i* before an *e* in Tibetan loanwords,
•171 then the first syllable *šdie(m)* might be this Tibetan *stes*,
whose final *s* is silent. The *m* would then be inserted in
assimilation to the following dental. As regards its meaning,
the Tujen translate *šdiemdžěl* [*234*] with the Chinese *yün-ch'i* or
t'ien-ming. They also, however, render *kimori* in the same
way. It is thereby stated that fate is under the power of heaven,
which Uno Harva also stresses for the Altaians and Mongols
(*Vorstellungen*, pp. 144-145). In other words these Altaic-Mongolic
conceptions can easily be linked with the *kimori* and
šdiemdžěl of the Tujen. According to Uno Harva, in the case
of the guarantors of good fortune, the tutelary spirit of man,
called *zajači*, is involved in the form of a double: "If a person
is wealthy in his lifetime, *zajači* is also well-dressed, rides on a
horse, and is gay" ... When the person dies, *zajači* disappears
into heaven where he lives in the company of the gods" (*op.
cit.*, pp. 276 f.). The Lamaistic air-horse of the Tujen likewise
777 bears on its back the guarantor of good fortune, the wishing
776 jewel, by virtue of which the human being obtains all that
seems desirable to him, in other words, good fortune. It has
171 almost the effect of an amulet. Now, according to Uno Harva,
when the tutelary lord of good fortune seems to be oriented
more toward the individual person, then in the case of the *sülde*
of the Mongols he is acting for the entire people, and, to be
sure, through the khan; meanwhile, the historical development
among the Chinggisiden made nine *Tengri* of good fortune out
of it. Father W. Schmidt, in conjunction with Banzarov,
characterizes the *sülde* in the following manner (UdG., X,
p. 78): "Heaven guides the world like the khan and possesses
its *sülde* ... The *sülde* of the khan is a reflection of the *sülde* of
heaven ... The nine *sülde-tengri*, according to their character,
are always there in order to protect. They are represented in
warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone,
in the manner of riders ..." etc. Here, too, it is the riding

[234 cont.]

777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the *sülde* of the khan,
which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., *loc. cit.*). --
Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno
Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception
of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is
independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply
separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the
entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in
the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and
every *mana* concept remains far removed from it. To be sure,
it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an
authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among
all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement
of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct
interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which
they believe."

[235]

2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the
corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for
which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for
this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the groundplan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing
a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here.
The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where
is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? --
Three types are found among the Tujen: *bō*-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789] [241] [755] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sicknesses.

756 787 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

•171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

[236 cont.]

171 Heissig, "Shamanen," *Folklore Studies*, 3, 1944, p. 72, Figs. 1-
756 7; likewise Shirokogorov, *Psychomental Complex*, pp. 297 f.) The absence of the trance seems to fit in least of all with Siberian shamanism.

The relationship to China. -- First the distribution must be considered. According to personal observations and various reports by the Chinese and missionaries, the fashih type is spread over all of Kansu and Shansi and into the interior of the coastal provinces Hopeh and Shantung. In the Amdo region he is found wherever there are Chinese settlements, especially in the vicinity of Sining and Kweiteh (on the Yellow River). In type he fits in well with an agricultural people, precisely through the emphasis of the harvest ceremony and of the female appearance.

Almost all the origin reports that I was able to gather attest to the descent of the fashih from a woman, a first shamaness. She was brought to life from a female skeleton through a magic incantation by *T'ai-shang lao-chün* (a title of Lao-tzu) and received from him her shamanistic powers. In southern Hopeh today the fashih are still predominantly women. -- Furthermore, the fashih are always associated with the spirits of the dead and ancestors, which likewise agrees with the Chinese mentality.

[237] The origin legends and the deities also point to a close connection with Wuism or Taoism. (Cf. De Groot, *Religious System*, Vol. VI, Part II, 1187 ff.) The god-litter with the *niang-niang* is almost the same as the one pictured there. The Taoists, sworn enemies of the fashih, claim that the latter split off from them as a false sect. Whereas the Taoists represented an official and respected religion, the fashih, as bearers of the *shen-chiao* (spirit religion), led a despised existence up to the most recent times.

174 The position in Tsinghai. -- Apparently this Chinese
756 shamanism also came to Amdo with the Chinese settlers. There it has adopted various elements, diluted its original shamanistic character, and fostered the cultic group-dance. Since the

[238 cont.]

757 [192] that acts, speaks, and thinks in him. This, however, is nothing other than an express possession-shamanism reduced to a simple Busshistic formula. The gurtum represents a deity.

757 171 Whether one may appeal to the gurtum in the "classical" sense as a shaman ~~is a~~ question that can only be answered with the final clarification of the shaman concept. In the investigation of shamanism up to now there has been too much concern with its Siberian form and special emphasis on the flight of the soul into the beyond as a "classical" characteristic, especially with the "bird type" of shaman (9). This is not the place to go into this question in greater detail, which is reserved for later [239] treatment. It should nonetheless be stated in advance that the gurtum is a true shaman of the same shamanistic rank as the Siberian. Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe a gurtum will not regard him simply as one possessed. The gurtum is likewise as bound to the ritual requirements and forms as, say, his Siberian colleague: call (vision), tutelary spirit, testing, dress and equipment, ecstasy, etc. In addition, there is much to indicate that formerly he was also familiar with the flight of the soul.

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[114] 9. The one-sided preference for Siberian shamanism is also unfortunately found in the excellent work by Mircea Eliade, Le Chamanisme, in which, to be sure, there are comparisons with other parts of the earth, and the "southern" and Buddhist influences are also taken into consideration, but they are dealt with only as secondary and unimportant; above all, however, the so characteristic stamp of Lamaistic shamanism in the figure of the gurtum is completely passed over.

[239 cont.]
756 the spirit in the shaman; he is actually the warrior, the sooth-
[787] sayer, the healer. His presence is essential. Therefore the
people also fall down before the gurtum and venerate him like
[782] a god. Finally, even the shaman himself has the duty of venerating
his tutelary spirit; he must burn incense for it, make offerings,
and pray to it. -- This religious character of the gurtum, however, by no means excludes all magic. His special position suggests [240] that he also engages in magical practices, but then not in his character as a shaman but as a human being whom one especially trusts since he is in communication with the spirit world; cf. above, p. 330.

Classification

171 Present-day Chinese shamanism in the form of the fashih,
756 wushih, or shihkung, as well as the earlier Wuism, has no direct connection with the gurtum. The Chinese shamans are female oriented, directed toward agriculture, and pass down their office within the kin group; they have the dance and the drum, the trance has become vestigial, and the rites are overlaid with Taoistic elements. None of this applies to the gurtum. He is the type of the manly warrior, knows no drum but weapons, and no dance but battle. He cannot pass down his office, but receives it through individual calling. A certain enmity between him and the fashih has already been indicated.

The present-day Siberian shaman likewise has a different appearance. He, too, knows the drum and for the most part practices a kind of dance. The shaman costume is not the uniform type like that of the gurtum and is hung with all kinds of
things, iron, feathers, figures, etc. In ecstasy he imitates the
[787] ascent to heaven or the journey of the soul which I could not
find in the case of the gurtum, even though Lessing (*Mongolen*,
p. 148) indicates such. Furthermore, there exists between this type of shaman, who in Mongolic is called *bõ* (*bõge*) and in Tujen *bõ*, and the gurtum a conscious contrast which Lessing,

[240 cont.]
171 loc. cit., also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also called "Lajing." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too, differentiate between the bō (fashih) and the gurtum (fa-la-tzu or ku-êrh-tien).

Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form
[779] is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic, as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum," is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic name for the gurtum, and the general term bō (böge, bügü) for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

752 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
779 The three aspects that are included under the word sku have
174 already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: tabun xağan) or "the protectors of the [241] doctrine" (Tibetan: c'os skyoṅ). R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life" (Archiv für Võlkerkunde, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the sruṅ-ba (ma). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the wu-tao-shen cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [244 cont.]
756 namely, the connections between bird and shaman (p. 199 f.).

756 776 Warrior-shaman and tutelary-spirit heroes. -- In shamanism the tutelary or helping spirits play a decisive role. In the case of the possession-shaman, and therefore also in the case of the warrior-shaman, these spirits are at the same time the possessor-spirits. What is most important about the warrior-figures of the tutelary spirits of the temple-shamans has already been said, when mention was made of the five kings, especially Pekar and dGra-lha.

171 756 776 The dGra-lha of the Tibetans has a counterpart in the good-fortune tutelary lord of the Mongols as he has already been described above in the section on the cult of heaven (p. 359), and to be sure in the figure of the dsayači and its extension in the sülde. The warlike character of the sülde tengri has been described in detail by the Mongol Dordschi Banzarov in his "Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846). Only a characteristic quotation from the version of Father W. Schmidt (UdG, X, p. 79) is to be given here: "The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect us. They are represented in a warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders, dressed in armor, wearing helmets on their heads, armed with swords and spears, holding a knout in one hand, a flag in the other. They are accompanied by falcons, as well as by a lion, a panther, bears and dogs." Father W. Schmidt notes in connection with this description: "Banzarow, as he states, has taken this presentation from Volume IV of the work by Mergen Diyanči; he wrote the book concerning the offerings presented to these genii." (UdG, loc. cit.) Concerning the relationship of the dGra-lha to the sülde or to the Mongolic good-fortune tengri and their warlike character, as well as their representation in the banner and on flags (jusun-sülde), Lüdtke has given a report, referring to Potanin, Waddel, Grünwedel, and other Russian as well as Mongolic sources; [245] See Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," op. cit., pp. 110-115. A supernatural double of the human being, who is conceived as a warlike tutelary lord and who shares and influences the weal and woe

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
752 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
756 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply documented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One
776 special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then
[787] when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[245 cont.]

171 Heissig reports similarly of the East Mongols: "In the
756 monasteries, according to tradition, weapons, helmet, and
776 war harnesses of famous, perhaps legendary Mongolic heroes are
preserved... These heroes and their arms bear the name Coyjing (lit. coyijung). Once or twice every month, after previous praying and fasting, a number of lama-monks in the Küriye-Banner are supposed to clothe themselves with the armor of the Coyijing and seize the weapons belonging to them. The spirits and powers of the heroes immediately come over their bearers and equipment. The lamas go into ecstasy..."; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," op. cit., p. 41. Coyjing, of course, refers to the Tibetan co's-skyoṅ. Here, too, however, the old conception
[523] continues to have its effect of preserving the powers of the old heroes for the succeeding generations by preserving the equipment and weapons.

756 [246] One could call this custom a shamanistic preservation of antiquities. At any rate, every visitor of Lamaistic
523 temples and shrines is struck by the ample store of weapons, banners, etc. Perhaps the Tujen custom of presenting the clothing of the deceased to the monastery also goes back to this conception, even though today they are merely thought of as a bosĕ, a prayer fee. When a monastery lacks a shaman who can don the armor, an artificial figure is dressed in it. I once saw such a statue equipped with ancient weapons and exhibited in a sitting position in the gate of the soothsayer-temple at dGon-luṅ, just as the gurtum at the beginning of his trance is seated in the temple facing the image of his tutelary spirit. The people moved past this image and gave it the appropriate veneration. This figure is likewise called sgurdien.

171 The warrior-shaman is widespread, and was even in pre-Lamaistic times. B. Laufer presents clear evidence for its
756 presence in ancient China in his book, Chinese Clay Figures. He presents several illustrations of excavated statuettes and dates these back to the Chou period, to an "archaic period" [cited in English]); cf. the legend for Plate XVII. Laufer describes these figures expressly as shamans "in the act of throwing a spear during a struggle with demons" [cited in English]. On

[246 cont.]

171 756 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), *op. cit.*, pp. 111-124.

174 756 825 [773] Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature. The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually, the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, however, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the *gNas-c‘uṅ* gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 756 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

[248 cont.]
756 it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear
791 and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit
in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

756 On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and
spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated
791 as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed
778 with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors.
The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzēn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loudspeaker.

778 How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

171 The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words,
778 not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the
Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an
[174] independent significance in Lamaism even in early times,
however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamaic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[249 cont.]

171 778 Nanggardse there is a fearful chapel of the Gur, and in it there is a lance (mduṅ) which is said by the worshipers to be sacred and is called 'remover of the thirteen enemies of the religion'"; according to W. Unkrig, Ms, p. 14. R. Bleichsteiner writes of a similar banner: "Another narrative reports on the victorious campaign of a barbarian prince across China, Hor and Grug-gug, during which he used a magical flag into which rNam-sras, the world guardian of the north, and eight companions had been conjured" ("Srog-bdag," p. 111).

The spirit-spear can easily be linked with other similar idols, such as Stabongonen, carriage axles, weather clubs, and noodle rollers among the Tujen, all of which are beribboned and hung with little bells and little metal disks. They, too, are used by a soothsayer in exactly the same way as the spirit-spear. This shows that it is merely one among the many shamanistic idols. That such stick-idols are very widespread not only in the Koko Nor region but also in other places in Tibet is shown from a remark by Jäschke: "... the local lha are not always represented by figures resembling human beings, but even by sticks, stones and similar fetishes" [cited in English], p. 599. And on page 7 he speaks of the Pekar idol, also cited by Bleichsteiner, and notes: "... consisting like most of the popular idols in those countries of a wooden stick or log decked with rags ..."; cf. also Bleichsteiner, op. cit., p. 112. Jäschke adds that this idol is certainly pre-Buddhistic. Such idols can be shown for all of northern Asia as far to the east as the Inao of the Ainu; for example, cf. Joseph Haekel, Idolkult und Dualsystem bei den Ugriern. The shamanistic use, however, seems nowhere to be so well attested to as in the case of the spirit-spear of the Tujen.

A second link can be established from the spirit-spear to the standard, flag, or banner. The spear as standard is an anciently known article, as are its sacredness and its veneration in the flag or standard cult. This cult was practiced above all by the Mongols in the form of the sülde veneration. Now [174] it is well possible that this very sülde cult was "co-converted" to Lamaism along with the conversion of the Mongols, especially

[249 cont.]

171 since the Buddhists in their victory banner, the *rgyal-mtsan*, had
778 similar conceptions. The Mongolic Tujen would naturally also
have taken part in this change. Probably the spear-standard was
[174] at the same time also regarded as ancestor spear or clan idol; this
[614] fact is established beyond doubt for the nine-tipped *sülde* of
Genghis Khan. His spirit and his force have their seat in this
sülde; further details and relationships unfortunately cannot be
presented here; for that, cf., for example, the descriptions by
W. Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," in *Archiv
für Religionswissenschaft*, 25, 1927, pp. 110-115. In any case,
[614] it is striking how [250] each *ayil* (clan settlement) of the Tujen
is intent upon possessing a spirit-spear. Similar ideas can also
be shown elsewhere. For example, the Bhil in India are
acquainted with the clan spear at religious functions; see
W. Koppers, "Die Bhil ...," pp. 182 ff. Even more clearly
does the similarity with the spirit-spear and the connection
with the clan appear in the case of the clan standard of the
Chewsur [Khevsur]. The form of this standard with its bands,
the little bells, the ball-knob, etc. can scarcely be distinguished from the spirit-spear of the Tujen. Also, their clan priest is practically a shamanistic soothsayer who works with the spear standard. In view of the great significance that the standards had among the Turks and Mongols (tuq-banner) and in view of the lively history of these peoples, influences and relics in the Caucasus are to be assumed from the first; cf. Radde, *The Chewsuren*, pp. 100 ff., and Nioradze, *Begräbnis*, pp. 10 ff. -- Sacral spears are abundantly known in Africa, as are the gods' standards in the ancient Orient. The hitherto not properly explainable Scythian pole appendages with their hooks and prongs, perhaps for little bells and other hangings, may also belong here. It is altogether possible that all these standards are not simply representations and localizations of deities, but were also used shamanistically in the manner of the spirit-spear or the clan standard of the Chewsur.

Further connections also seem to exist between the spirit-spear and the world-tree or the world-axle. One should think for instance, of the cosmic significance of the jewel-spear in the Japanese creation mythology, where it has a

[250 cont.]

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function similar to the cosmic twirling pole in the milky original ocean of the South Asiatic world myth; see F. Numazawa, Weltanfänge [Original World], p. 345. Mention was made earlier of the world-pole among the Tujen; cf. above, pp. 319 ff. The conceptions connected with it are an ancient Mongolic heritage among them. The "golden nail" representing the world-pole, from which the dome of heaven is suspended, is interpreted among the Olöt Mongols as a banner that stands on the world-mountain Sumeru, and around which all the stars revolve. The same conception is found among the Ordos Mongols, where the golden nail or polar star is called 'the golden banner of the mountain Sumeru.' Among the Chalcha [Khalkha] Mongols this polar-star pole, like the jewel-spear among the Japanese, becomes the twirler with which one beats kumiss; see Lüdtke, op. cit., pp. 115, 118. Lüdtke would like to put the transformation of the world-pole into a banner in a later period, when the Mongols already possessed an extensively developed military organization. The Japanese jewel-spear, however, indicates that the basis of this conception goes back far beyond the Mongolic era (11). Accordingly, Lüdtke's view should perhaps be

11. The significance of the lance among the Ngadju Dajak [Dyak] in Borneo should be briefly pointed out here. The connection of lance, flag, tree of life, and "total deity" is still much more apparent and conscious there than in Central Asia and Tibet. Even the shamanistic priests as representatives of the "total deity" are much more strikingly involved in this conception than, for instance, the gurtum as representative of the god of life; cf. H. Schärer, Die Gottesidee, pp. 29 ff., 87, 148 ff.

corrected: "I would not want [251] to derive this whole

[251 cont.]

171 778 conceptual cycle from China either; there, too, to be sure, there is a determining constellation called a 'standard,' not on the pole, however, but rather on the ecliptic" (op. cit., p. 117). At any rate, the astral spear or the standard is not merely the property of the Mongols (12). Here the similarity with the cosmically conceived arrow of good fortune that was dealt with earlier should also be pointed out; see above, p. 321. -- After these references, which refer more or less to the spear alone, its significance in shamanism is easier to understand.

756 778 Spirit-spear and shaman. -- The spirit-spear stands in a two-fold relationship with the shaman, once as world-tree and as weapon, and then as something independent and representative of the shaman.

171 756 778 In the case of Siberian shamanism, for which the symbolism of the journey to heaven is so important, the shaman climbs up on the ladder, the tree, the pole, the bridge, etc. into the world beyond. In the rite, therefore, the most varied representations of this earth-heaven connection appear. What, then, is more obvious than that the spear with its symbolism as world-tree or peak of the world-mountain should be drawn into it? Unfortunately, the evidence for a ritual use of the spear as heaven-ladder (bridge, bow) among the Central Asiatic peoples seems to be difficult to obtain. It must be all the more surprising that among the remote Australians the spear fulfills this function. M. Eliade cites Pettazzoni in this connection and says in his excellent work, Le Chamanisme, pp. 426 f.: "The bow being unknown in Australia, its place in the myth is taken by a lance which bears a long piece of material; the

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12. The military flag cult of the Chinese in its well-known form is too recent to permit any ancient mythological conclusions; cf., for instance, Doolittle, Social Life, pp. 287 f.

[251 cont.]
756 lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero
778 climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated
[171] from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser
[773] legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lẽmu, sdier sẽmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman,
174 nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

756 It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives
778 a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby,
791 as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sülde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

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13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

by the shaman but of the ecstasy caused by the ascension 756
or descent.[3] 771

Åke Ohlmarks considers arctic and subarctic shamanism. The arctic "genuine shamanism" is founded [171] on a psycho-pathologic base, and originated in the arctic regions out of the hysteria peculiar to this region; the subarctic shamanism originated in primeval magic influenced by the arctic shamanism. The shaman, by means of ecstasy, provides communication between the three worlds, connected by means of an axis (tree, post, or rope) along which move spirits and souls, including those of the sacrificed victims.[4]

In the course of this study reference will be made frequently to the Bön religion, because many facts relating to shamanism are encountered also in Bön, and even in Lamaism. A few words regarding Bön seem to be advisable.

According to Helmut Hoffman[5] the meaning of Bön is not known (p. 137). Bon is the old religion of the Tibetans which existed before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet in the seventh century (p. 135). It is the Tibetan form of a primitive animism that once spread all over Northern and Central Asia, this animism often being thoroughly blended with genuine shamanist principles (p. 208). At present, the systematized Bön religion is a composite. Its original nucleus was the belief in and fear of good and evil spirits (p. 135) and the worship of Heaven considered as a god of the universe, "Weltgott" (p. 156). Around this nucleus was built a façade made up of elements of the debased but more developed Buddhism (Lamaism) (p. 138), in which also animist-shamanist principles played and still play a prominent part (p. 197). Bön, in competing with Lamaism, adopted many of its rites and institutions and composed its literature according to the pattern of Lamaism.

In the primitive Bön, existing before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, Heaven was worshipped not only as an impersonal power, but also as a personal God (p. 156). Hence communication between Heaven and earth was secured by means of a rope or ladder, the "way of the spirits" (p. 153), and by means of the post supposed to reach heaven.[6] Bön likes to emphasize to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it. 756 793

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[3] Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase;* 434, 439, Paris, Payot, 1951. See also the interesting review of this book by Dominic Shröder, in *Anthropos* 48 (3-4): 671, 1953.

[4] Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Shamanismus,* 83, Kopenhagen, Gleerup, 1939. See also Horst Kichner, Ein archäologischer Beitrage zur Urgeschichte des Shamanismus, *Anthropos* 47 (1-2): 244, 1952. 47: 1952, No. 1-2, 244. David F. Aberle, "Arctic hysteria" and Latah in Mongolia, *Trans. N. Y. Acad. Sci.,* ser. 2, 7: 291, 1952.

[5] Helmut Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur,* 4, 1950.

[6] Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The religions of India,* 378, Boston, 1895. In early Hinduism there existed already "a festivity for Indra, extending over two days, and marked by the erection of a pole in honor of the god."

[p. 77(B)]

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions. 756 177 171

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god. 756 776 171

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults 756
of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), 776
Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu 171
(provider of rain), Hsüan-t'an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts'ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly.

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

"GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS"

The Monguor shamans during the performance of 175
their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert be- 776
fore the public that they are the real disciples of the 756
god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter.

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,[27] and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.[28]

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from

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[27] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2–3.

[28] Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658–1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T'ang, he was created "war god" by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

[p. 85(A)]

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cult—but in spite of these scanty facts our problem remains unsolved.[38] 756 184

MONGUOR SHAMANS—WU OF OLD CHINA—SHAMANS OF CENTRAL ASIA

756 The leader of the twelve spirits is, according to the texts, the Fang hsiang, an exorcist belonging to the class of sorcerers who were specialists in the art of neutralizing all kinds of harmful influences and used by the princes for that purpose.[39] "This group, called *Wu*, was an old priesthood of China, spontaneously produced by the animistic religion . . . it still bore supreme sway in the former Han dynasty" (202 B.C.–A.D. 8).[40] The Wu included the kinds of male and female shamans that are encountered all over Asia (Wu are recorded among the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C.).[41] They were proficient in exorcising spirits of evil and illness, calling down gods and human spirits, going into trances and being possessed, telling the future.[42] Later the Wu were recognized by the official priesthood, who used them in their official ceremonies for calling down spirits and regulating the seats of the gods at sacrifices.[43]

In the *Chou-li*, 1122–256 B.C., are recorded the duties performed at court by these *Wu* scorcerers many centuries before our era, in summoning good spirits in order to drive out evil ones.[44]

Wittfogel and Feng write:

> In our translation we have called the *wu*, shamans. This term is generally used to designate the religious functionaries of Inner and Northern Asia, whose status does not depend upon an officially institutionalized position but is derived from power received "directly from the spirits as a gift or grant." In Asia two types of shamans may be distinguished—the arctic and subarctic. The latter exhibit less ecstasy and only rarely have recourse to frenzy or trance in the performance of their magic and prayers. Among the Ch'i-tan, as among most Altaic peoples, shamanism was definitely "subarctic" and possession was more the exception than the rule.[45]

[171]● The Wu in China up to the present time act in the same way, using bells, drums, swords, scepter, whip, dagger, dancing, and the calling down of spirits.[46] At present they are called *Shih-kung* (masters). They represent themselves publicly as priests of Taoism.[47] Chinese law considers them as belonging to the wide class of secular Taoist priests.[48] The capacity of be-

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[38] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerers and rulers*, 92–95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[39] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 200.

[40] J. J. De Groot, *The religious system of China* 6: 1206, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1201.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1190.

[43] *Ibid.*, 1191.

[44] Edouard Biot, *Le Tcheouli ou rites du Tcheou* 2: 102, 103, Paris, Duprat, 1851.

[45] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 217. See also page 291, note.

[46] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.

[47] *Ibid.*, 1245.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1251.

[p.88(B)]

philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White 774 Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against 756 hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore 177 among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the 771

> South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bō), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming em- 771 perors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against 628 shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against [illegible] Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

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[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94-98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* **48**: 493, 1953.

[p.89 (B)]

The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, 756
offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the 578
deity who protected the village.

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain 756
was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging 292
to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger.

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because 756
they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These 571
yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say.

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is en- 756
countered a category of possessed men and women who 171
seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic."

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely 114
with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject.

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[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94 (A)]

the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the 756
jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The 796
triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the 782
square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and 789
bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground.

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[2] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

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[2] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items.

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

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the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven 789 and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, [731] the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages 175 situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess 177 in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!"[9]

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty [792] strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan 796 ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of 782 their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires [784] that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain [171] during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a

[p102(A)]

The groups join each other on the way. Friendly 796 and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with 782 banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed [672] for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god [776] of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

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celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of [171] the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884–1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

[p. 102(B)]

clared that their power was too weak and unavailing, 796
that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a 756
big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully [171]
with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.[4]

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, 792
which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate
with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the 796
people feel happy to approach, face to face, the spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is
awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my [781]
Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

RITES OF THE SECOND DAY

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are 796
performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, 756
(2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits, and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

POSSESSION BY THE WHITE TIGER

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole

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[4] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188–1190; 1201–1208, 1247.

the same way the territory of the village is supposed to 795
have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not 778
on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of 795
a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and wide- [171]
spread all over China also.[12] From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in rudimentary shrines built in [illegible] fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the moun- [776]
tains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning
these gods is encountered all over Asia[13] Buddha once [171]
enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.[14]

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot oc-

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[12] Maspero, *La Chine antique, op. cit.,* 204.

[13] Sandschejew, *op. cit.,* 598.

[14] de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances,* 351 Paris, Beauchesne, 1909.

[p. 113(A)]

Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored 795
deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is per- 825
formed in private families by lamas. Stallions are con- 231
secrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco
Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, [171]
notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco- 372
Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was 776
butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture. "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen." [8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

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[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.,* 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel,* 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk,* 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, **1**: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.,* 315–322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* **1**: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* **30**: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **10**: 70–76; **9**: 228–241, 534–535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.,* **3**: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* **3**: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major,* 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.,* 214 and 239.

[p. 119(B)]

Seerting group, but also among some families living in 776
the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that 425
long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him
tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run [753
away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the 574]
family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in be- 776
half of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken
cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble [171]
those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

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[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 *li* south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 *li* west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdamon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

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SOULS

The concept of the soul is one of the most confused all over Asia. Chinese claim to have two souls: the *p'o* and the *hun*. The p'o appears at the moment of conception, the hun at the time of birth. At death, they are separated; the p'o dwelling with the corpse, the hun going to Heaven, to the domain of Shang ti. Hungry p'o become malignant kuei. However, according to old theories, they live only for three years after death. In later times it was imagined that there was a place for the p'o similar to that of the hun. When the mourning period is finished, the deceased becomes an ancestor.[1]

Pure shamanism—i.e., shamanism before its contact with Lamaism,—had no conception of another world or a realm of death; but another realm to which only the shaman had admission, which became adorned with many attributes of the Lamaistic Hades, as appears later in the more recent shamanistic incantations. In pure shamanism, the ghost and spirits of the dead remained in this world at their burial sites. These sites developed into haunted places, and through fear were tabu to all but the shamans who have power over these ghosts and spirits.[2]

Johannes de Plano Carpini (1246–1247) claimed that the Mongols had no notion about heaven or hell, but asserted that they entered another world after death, where they could tend animals,[3] and that their deceased, under the form of dolls, were put on a wagon guarded by shamans and honored on certain days. Later on, good men became good spirits, and so the entire branch of Chingis Khan became good spirits. Owing to Tibetan Buddhist influences, souls were incarnated in other men.[4] A judgment after death was supposed to take place, and a heaven and a hell and even a kind of purgatory to exist.[5] Schmidt concludes his synthesis of the religion of the oldest Turks by saying, "Because the soul is thought to have the shape of a bird, and because death is called 'flying away,' it seems to point to a flight to Heaven," so that a heaven might have existed.[6] The souls of princes were probably thought to enter Heaven where they lived in the way they lived on earth.[7]

The Buriats speak in a very confused manner about three souls.[8] The Yakuts believe the shaman has three souls, "the air soul," "the earth soul," and "the mother soul." During his childhood the threefold soul is taken away by the spirits, and his mother soul takes the shape of a "fantastic female."[9] These facts suffice to give an idea about the confusion reigning in Central Asia about the soul, and they prepare us to expect the same confusion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who assume that they have three souls.

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[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 186.

[2] Heissig, *op. cit.*, 510.

[3] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 194, 195.

[4] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 105.

[5] *Ibid.*, 108–110.

[6] *Ibid.* **9**: 65.

[7] *Ibid.*, 35.

[8] Sandschejew, *op. citit., Anthropos* **23**: 578, 1928.

[9] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia*, 316, 19952.

[p. 140(A)]

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the "soul of the bones,"[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concerning the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific factors caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-new beliefs have entered their minds. However, for how long a time will the existence of this soul last? Even though the lamas speak of a quasi-endless paradise with Buddha, and of successive rebirths, the Mongours honor the souls of only three older generations at the feast of spring, at the celebration of the family guardian deity, and at the time when shamans expel evil spirits from sick men. After that the souls seem to be finished. 774 775

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[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91.

[p. 140 (B)]

The second soul seems to be more independent of the body than the first one, because, during sleep, dreaming, and fainting fits, it may wander to far-off countries, and later recall what it saw or heard, and how it acted in these countries. At the moment of death, the family, on the roof of the house, implores it not to leave them. The shaman, curing the sick, calls this soul back with the two others along the rope. Immediately after death, the lama releases this soul through the bregmatic fontenelle. Surely, threfore, this soul leaves the body after death. 774 775 761

However, its existence has always been precarious. During life it was subject to being harmed by nefarious spirits, and after death, lamas must say prayers to help it reach paradise safely, in order that vampires may not devour it on the way. In the same way, the shamans at the feast of spring tell about the dangerous crossing of the bridge after death, and about vampires waiting for these souls.[13]

Siberian shamans travel to heaven in order to bring back souls abducted by evil spirits.[14] The Tungus believe that the soul remains for a certain time near the body,[15] and then a dog carries it into the lower world;[16] that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat,[17] and that a raven looks for the souls traveling, after death, to the lower world and brings the news to the soul's owner.[18] The release of the soul is a very important function of the shamans.[19] [171]

The Mongours do not say in which part of the body the soul is located, or from where it originated. At the feast of spring, however, the shamans, when making fun, tell in a jocular manner how Tengri made seven men and seven women. The Tungus believe that the souls are given by the spirit;[20] they also say that the death of a man results in the birth of a new soul in the other (upper) world, and that the soul may be sent to a newborn human being.[21] Among the Ch'i-tan is recorded a sacrifice offered by the emperor in the tenth month, to the god of the sacred Black Mountain, who cares for the souls of the populace.[22] 774 775 thereupon swallowed opium and also died. Because this case had involved the village and caused a lot of trouble, the chief of the village, with the maternal uncles, decided that they were unworthy to be cremated and buried them in the same pit. In Part I, other similar cases have been recorded. 764 [766]

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[13] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 191, 192.

[14] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 179.

[15] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 215.

[16] *Ibid.*, 210.

[17] *Ibid.*, 92.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Ibid.*, 276.

[20] *Ibid.*, 128.

[21] *Ibid.*, 297.

[22] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204-214. [p.141(B)]

The old Turco-Mongols buried their dead;[26] the old Hsiung-nu buried their dead also, as did the Hsien-pi.[27] The Ch'itan did not bury the corpses, but placed them in trees for three years, and then removed the bones and buried them.[28] This custom is widely distributed in northern Eurasia from the Tungus to the Lapps. [77]

Monguors follow the Chinese custom in disposing of children who have died during the first month of age. They burn them and bury them in the k'ang, for it is said to be harmful to bring such corpses out of the room. Children of less than ten years of age are enveloped in straw and thrown in a lonely spot and disposed of by dogs and rapacious animals. Children who die under fifteen years of age are usually cremated without any ceremony, and their bones are not cared for. Young people under twenty years of age, dying in the morning, are cremated at evening; those who die at night are cermated in the early morning. Unmarried youngsters are cremated without any ceremony, and prayers are not said for them; their bones are collected after the cremation and buried in the abode of the wicked people. In the Ordos these dead are supposed to become vampires and to cause many deaths.[29]

In the case of married people dying without children, the maternal uncle is invited, a lama says some prayers, the harmful souls are driven out of the home, and cremation is without ceremony. Their bones are buried in the same terrible abode. However, in case both are aged, prayers are said for several days. After cremation the bones are collected and buried in the family cemetery at the request of the maternal uncle. According to the Monguors, the aged dead are no longer abandoned in valleys, on account of the density of the population, and the custom of cutting the dead into pieces to feed the vultures has never been practiced. [766]

DEATH

When a Monguor is dying, the women of the family, from the roof of the house, call on his spirit not to abandon them, crying that they are preparing for it a delicious dish, apologizing for their shortcomings, and with tears and sighs giving assurance of their love, in a most pathetic way. If a child is dying, women on the roof cry and call his name, wave his best clothes and pretend that cookies and candies are waiting for him. This is an age-old custom practiced in China from the 765

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[26] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 120-126. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 86.

[27] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 15-86, 104.

[28] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204.

[29] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

[p. 143(A)]

the great mourning period is over, and the whole group 764
prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, 765
who will receive twelve rolls.

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are ob-
viously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited,
a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of 764
the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and 765
some rolls. The people themselves perform the in-
cineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus.

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period 765
the "black period." A son born after the death of his
father is still called a "black son." The old custom of
wearing black during the mourning period is still notice-
able in the clothes worn by men and women, as will
be noted.

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning 765
color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the 171
nomads, even before our era, although in China white
was the mourning color from the earliest times. Dur-
ing the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family
dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the
coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626
B.C. black was already the mourning color for the bar-
barians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh
chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes
at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the
king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in
order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao
officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their
hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased em-
peror.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi
died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against
Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in
a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with
black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a
canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning
color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43]

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. 765
The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats
inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist
with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and
binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The
women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the
traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the
family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the
mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives
and children, members of a higher generation, do not

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[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.

[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.

[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.

[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 191.

[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.

[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.

[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130.

[p. 146(A)]

honored in the open air temples being built only for 776
souls of the deceased."[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community 214
is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 796
blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new T'u-ssu is announced, not 622
to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775
and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 774
Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776
guors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 771
vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

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[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

[p.152(A)]

776 171 though Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always preserved their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods."[9] In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688–333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.[10] It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats.

> In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.[11]

[779] 771 In concluding this section it is appropriate to remember that it is a fact that the true concept of a creation *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity.

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the "spirit of Heaven," it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the "spirit of Heaven."

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC-MONGOLS

776 171 It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol[12] tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, rec-

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[9] *Ibid.*, 698.

[10] Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

[11] Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

[12] René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, lre phase*, 1–3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term "Turk" used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term "Mongols" as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C to second century A.D.), and T'opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch'i-tan (who occupied North China 907–1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.; T'opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination

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ognized "Heaven" as enjoying a position of prominence among the gods and spirits they worshipped. Did this recognition, however, entail an intensive cult of "Heaven" among these Altaic tribes, or was this prominence only one of purely honorary dimension, as among the Monguors? A substantial answer to this question seems to be the synthesis encountered in the study by W. Schmidt concerning the subject among the Turkic-Mongol tribes. In an account from the "oldest available texts," he concludes his study about the Hiungnu (the oldest Turkic group) by saying, "We are still uncertain whether the being called 'Heaven' is, in the strict sense of the word, the 'Highest Being'; and finally, the position and relation of this being toward the other higher beings are not explained." [13]

Concerning the problem of the offerings he remarks, "The position of the other higher beings is more prominent than that of the being called 'Heaven'." [14] In the texts, the formula, "Heaven and deities" is used by the old Turks, and beside it there is also the formula, "Ancestors, Heaven and Earth, Spirits and Deities," and several times "Heaven" alone.[15] According to these texts, the religious notions of the old Hiungnu seem to have been at least as confused as those of the Monguors of today.

The conclusion of W. Schmidt about the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the T'u-kiue (A.D. 551–800), another Turkic group, is that the texts fail to make clear that the being called "Heaven" by the T'u-kiue is the "highest being" in the strict sense of the word, but their content seems to hint at the fact that

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in North China with the Hsienpi, while the Juan-Juan Mongols succeeded in settling in the Gobi region. During the sixth century the "Turks" dominated in Mongolia and west Turkestan; and in the eighth century the Uigur (Turks) and in the ninth the Kirgiz (Turks). From 924 on, Mongol and Turkic tribes struggled for the domination of Mongolia until the thirteenth century, when the Mongols triumphed under Chingis Khan. During all these centuries the conquerors agglomerated, collecting into their groups the defeated tribes. The empires of the steppe were composites. Pastoralism and nomadism more than identity of language held the tribes together. Hence the confusion and amalgamation in the field of religion, cult, and customs. (While the distinction between proto Turkic-Mongol tribes is often based on a few controversial linguistic data, authors do not always agree upon the classification of some tribes into one or another of the two groups; for instance the Hsienpi and Ch'i-tan. Among the She-wei a tribe called Meng-wu (seventh–ninth century) is noted, which would be the first mention of the name of the Mongols.)

[13] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9: 20. "So dass wir auch noch in Ungewissen bleiben, ob das Himmels-wesen ein volles Höchstes Wesen ist. Schliesslich bleibt auch sein Erhaltnis zu den übrigen höheren Wesen ungeklärt."

[14] *Ibid.*, 19. "Das Opfer ist etwas reichlicher bezeugt, und hier treten auch die übrigen höheren Wesen mehr in den Vordergrund, sogar stärker als das Himmelswesen."

[15] *Ibid.*, 13. "Dass der Grosskhan das Opfer darbrachte 'seinen Ahnen, dem Himmel und der Erde, den Geistern und Göttern' . . . ! Er opferte den Himmel und den Göttern! . . ." B. 10: "das var vom Himmel verfügt . . . der Himmel hat dich geschickt. . . . Der Himmel erzürnte sich . . . wenn der Himmel nicht seine Pläne mit dem Hiung nu hatte. . . ."

such a notion existed in their minds.[16] His conclusions relating to the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the Uigurs (745) who overthrew the T'u-kiue realm and the majority of whom were converted to Manicheism, are: "Since we have only a few fragmentary facts about their old religion it is impossible to get a clear idea about it."[17] This interesting study by Schmidt affords all the data available concerning the cult of "Heaven" among the old Turkic groups, which seems to have been as confused in former times as today among the Monguors.

It would be interesting to read the syntheses of Schmidt concerning the corresponding cult among the proto-Mongols. However, only a study concerning the Altai Tatars is provided, based on data collected by Russian ethnologists since the latter half of the eighteenth century, which reflects very confused notions existing at that time.[18]

However, in the *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* Wittfogel and Feng provide the most instructive material concerning the tribal religion of the Ch'i-tan, tribes belonging to the Mongol stock, living just before the time of Chingis (1162–1227).

> Their pantheon includes gods of Heaven, Earth, and Sun, of the *Mu-yeh* and of the Black Mountains, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, the gods of war and of metal, personified deities, supernatural powers thought to be immanent in trees, mountains, etc., an endless legion of souls of the dead, spirits of the two tribal ancestors appealed to at the temple seats; the souls of the general populace, which were protected by the gods of the Black Mountain. No explicit descriptions are encountered of the thereafter, but the funeral offers seem to imply a life after death with definite pastoral and military features. Heaven and Earth were usually appealed to together. Friendly supernatural powers had to ward off the danger of the evil ones.[19]
>
> Solemn announcements were made to Heaven, Earth and the Sun, sometimes with the aid of fire, or from the top of a mountain. Twice a year the two tribal ancestors were officially honored by sacrifices of horses or oxen. Sacrifices of horses, oxen, sheep or geese were performed to win the favor of the gods, and on the tenth month were enacted for the spirits of all the dead.[20]
>
> Tribal priests or shamans exercised political and religious power, non-official Wu had become guardians of a subsidiary religion.[21]

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[16] Ibid., 39, "So fehlet also noch viel, dass das Himmelswesen der T'u-kiue Religion als ein wirkliches und volles Höchstes Wesen erscheine, aber die für uns jetzt nur schwach ansetzenden spärlichen Linien seiner Charakterisierung scheinen in ihrer Verlängerung all auf ein solches Wesen hinaus zu laufen."

[17] *Ibid.*, 40, "Bei dieser verwirrten Geschichte seines stark gemischten Volkes, das dann so bald schon eine ganz andere Religion annahm, wird es verständlich, dass wir von ihrer alten Religion nur spärliche und fragmentarische Nachrichten besitzen aus denen man unmöglich ein irgendwie klares Gesamtbild gewinnen kann."

[18] *Ibid.* 9: 71.

[19] K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, reprint from the *Review of Religion*, May, 1948: 351.

[20] *Ibid.*, 358.

[21] *Ibid.*, 359.

[p. 153(B)]

is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? M 175x
Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device 648
to increase the military power of the myriarch? U

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others 175
were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, 648 M
and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west 619
of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled 624
their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes 563
and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Prob- M
ably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from [171]
the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. M
At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, [171]
Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals.* M

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large 175x
group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the 614
t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and 563
is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia. M

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur [624]
tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

M x
175
614

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only 563
a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has 648
the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs U
been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o 175
tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po 167
tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a 648

N
563 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and
M became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became
614 622 closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came
178 under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control
177 over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them
a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately,
M their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a
[171] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bäks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bäk), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The
N
563 T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-
175 chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan
M
175 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-
177 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol
614 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with
622 Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty, (who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

N
*563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N
*563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their livestock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N
*563 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.

582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patrilineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M 604 part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence

N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

• M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear underclothing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [171] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still M [888] living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

a. Ancestor worship

N *563 M 769 614 Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

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first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

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The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

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Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

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j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

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k. Wedding, funeral and grave

The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

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4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

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If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.